

AN ELIZABETHAN
CARDINAL
WILLIAM ALLEN



MARTIN HAILE

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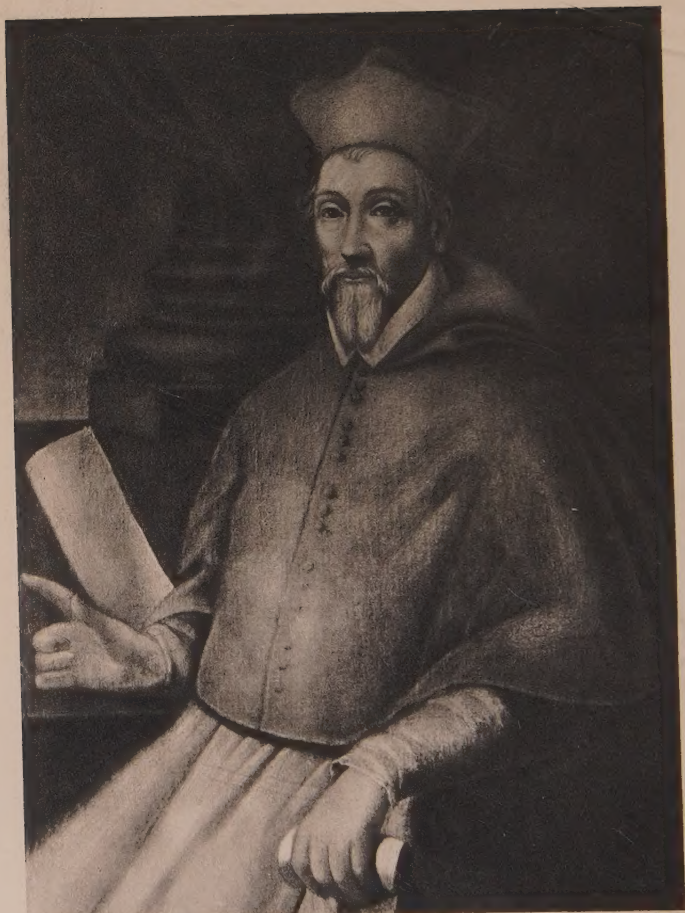
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AN ELIZABETHAN
CARDINAL
WILLIAM ALLEN

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AN ELIZABETHAN CARDINAL WILLIAM ALLEN

BY

MARTIN HAILE

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF REGINALD POLE," ETC., ETC.



LONDON

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TO
MARY GOSSELIN
AND
GENEVIEVE PRESTON
THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY
INSCRIBED

PREFACE

MODERN historical methods, reversing many accepted versions, have gradually obliterated, or at least greatly modified the story of the Settlement of Religion under Elizabeth. As represented by the majority of English historians, chiefly by Burnet and Macaulay and followed in these later days by Dr. Creighton in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, that all-important change was the joyous rebound of the whole nation from a hated superstition, imposed upon it by a cruel Queen, to the purer and beloved tenets of Calvinism and Zwinglianism.

In the light of the contemporary evidence, which the opening of the great archives of Europe has laid bare, a different picture is presented, which, if less pleasing to certain minds, not only has the merit of greater accuracy, but is in itself more interesting. It shows that the change was wrought rather by coercion from without than by conviction from within; it leaves us amazed at the extraordinary talent, even genius, with which Queen Elizabeth and her three ministers, Cecil, Walsingham and Bacon, accomplished the task they had undertaken:—a tenacity of purpose, a far-sighted calculation of results, a bold, yet cautious taking of risks, with a ruthless disregard of human life and suffering in the unscrupulous carrying out of their purpose.

In the foreground of this new picture stands the slight figure of the young Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, the future Cardinal William Allen, arresting the attention as the one man of all others who set himself the task of opposing the enforced change of religion, and who—in a measure—succeeded in frustrating the reforming zeal of Elizabeth and William Cecil. Whilst his character and career unfold themselves, especially during the last twenty years of his life, the question ever more dominantly imposes itself, as to what might have been the result if Allen had confined himself to the spiritual and ecclesiastical office, to that great missionary

work in which he was so successful, and had left arms and politics to those of whom they were the trade. In the following pages the proposition is set down as clearly and with as little comment as possible: the reader will adopt the conclusion which most commends itself to him.

While Allen was apparently neglected by the foremost biographers of his own country, a German historian, Dr. Alphons Bellesheim, recognising the place he holds in the history of his period, published in 1885, *Wilhelm Cardinal Allen, und die Englischen Seminare auf dem Festlande*. This was the first biography to appear after Nicholas Fitzherbert's brief Latin memoir, published in 1608. Allen's life and work, however, had not been overlooked by the men of his own creed in his own country; in 1878 and 1882 the learned Oratorian, Dr. Thomas Francis Knox, edited the *Douay Diaries* and the *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, the only two volumes issued of a projected series of records of the English Catholics, a work revived in 1905 by the present "Catholic Record Society." In these weighty quartos and their historical introductions, the great mass of documents are collected, and accessible to students, later research having done little to add to, or modify their authority as the chief source of information with regard to Allen. As with Quirini's five volumes of Cardinal Pole's letters, the fact that Knox gives all the documents in the original Latin, Spanish, Italian, or French, makes his work ill-adapted for popular use; it seems reasonable, therefore, to hope that a life of William Allen may not be unwelcome to those who have perused with interest the life of his predecessor as "Cardinal of England," Reginald Pole.

I have gratefully to acknowledge the kind help of the officials of the Public Record Office and the British Museum, especially of Mr. J. A. Herbert, keeper of MSS., and of the officials of the Chetham and Rylands Libraries, Manchester. At Rome, Mr. J. M. Rigg, representative of the Public Record Office, greatly facilitated my researches, as did at Oxford the officials of the Bodleian Library and Mr. R. L. Poole, keeper of the archives. I am also indebted to Dr. H. E. D. Blakiston,

President of Trinity College, and to Dr. C. L. Shadwell, Provost of Oriel. Here, on the *façade* of the new Rhodes buildings of his old college, the statue of William Allen has lately been placed, in company with that of another great scholar of Oriel, John Henry Newman.

Dom Norbert Birt has given me much kind help, while Father John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., generously allowed me access to the copies and notes he has lately made in the Spanish archives at Simancas, documents hitherto unpublished. To none, however, do I owe a greater debt than to Mr. Joseph Gillow, who has laid open to me the Allen literature collected over a period of forty years, as well as his own vast knowledge of sixteenth-century events and personages.

The portrait of Cardinal Allen, facing p. 332, and the interesting reredos of an Elizabethan portable altar are from Mr. Gillow's collection.

The frontispiece portrait of Cardinal Allen is reproduced by the kind permission of the Rt. Rev. the Abbot of Douai Abbey, Woolhampton.

As the Roman Transcripts at the Record Office are being calendared at the present moment, I have merely referred to them according to their dates and various embassies, by which they will easily be traced when the Calendars are published.

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AN ELIZABETHAN CARDINAL

WILLIAM ALLEN

CHAPTER I

OF the three great Churchmen in the time of the Tudors, ¹⁵³² Wolsey, Pole, and Allen, the latter is known, even to close students of history, rather as a force than as a personality. This would appear strange, did we forget that the great disruption in the day of Elizabeth, buried the vanquished under a heavy mass of *scoriae* made up of misconception, not unmixed with calumny, of dislike that bordered close on loathing: and that it is only in quite recent times that men—other than those of their own creed and calling—have been moved by curiosity or interest to burrow through the ruins, in order to discover and lay bare what really lay beneath.

More learned than Wolsey; as rich in virtues and rare endowments of mind as Reginald Pole, with much the same sweetness and winning charm of demeanour, William Allen was his superior as a writer and controversialist. He was the equal of both men in his impassioned love of his country, and his unremitting strenuous labours for what he considered to be the good of the people. Another point of likeness in the three great Cardinals was that each failed to accomplish one of the chief tasks he had set before himself—so out-of-joint did they find the times into which they had been born.

Wolsey, whose genius had raised England from the rank of a fifth-rate power and had placed her as the equal of the three great kingdoms of Europe, was at length misguided by his own subtle statecraft and mistaken foresight. Alarmed at the prospect of probable civil war, and a disputed succession;

1532

in the event of King Henry leaving no male heir to the throne, Wolsey, after witnessing the magnificent ceremonial with which the King created his infant son by Elizabeth Blount, Duke of Richmond, (the title his own father had borne before he won the crown) definitely turned his thoughts to the fatal scheme of the Divorce—which was to wrest England from the unity of Christendom, and to carry his own ruin in the downfall of his plans.

Reginald Pole had the happiness to restore his country to that unity, but he died without the assurance that he had secured the stability of the work accomplished: and he was doomed to witness the Spanish match and the religious persecution which he deprecated, but had not the power to prevent. It was Allen's great achievement to save the shattered remnants of the old faith from utter ruin—by his presence, his writings, and above all, by the labours of the priests whom he trained to labour undaunted in a blood-stained field. Then, in the evening of life, misled, in his exile, by the specious arguments of those who believed that which they wished to believe, he was induced to take part in a political course of action which filled up the cup of sorrows of his afflicted fellow-Catholics in England, by throwing into it the seeds of fierce and bitter internecine political strife. So acknowledged and so great, however, was his superiority, so large-hearted and exquisite his tact in the ruling of men, that he was able to keep both the contending parties in check during his lifetime—equally respected and beloved by both, and, a rarer tribute still, claimed by each after his death as their own, while they vied with each other in publishing his praise.

Of an ancient and honourable race were the Allens of Rossall Grange and Toderstaffe Hall, in the county of Lancaster, and numbered among the most influential and widely-connected of its families. In the days of King Edward III Henry Allen was settled at Buckenhall in Staffordshire;¹ and his descendant, John Allen of Rossall, who was living in 1566, made an

¹ Flowers' *Visitation of Staffordshire* (Harl. MSS. 1172, p. 102 and 6,128, p. 17).

alliance which increased his importance as a county magnate¹⁵³² when he married Jane, daughter of Thomas Lister of Arnold-Biggin, in Westbury, Yorkshire, widely and honourably connected in that county.¹

These ancient country-gentlemen, living from father to son for centuries on the same spot, considered, and considering themselves as much part and parcel of the soil as the ground on which their manors were built, or the herbage which fed their flocks, appear to have led useful and God-fearing lives: doing their duty in their state of life, sending their sons to Eton and to Oxford, giving their daughters in marriage to their neighbours, or sending them, with a slenderer portion and their blessing, into one or other of the cloisters which stood in stately beauty—and a security apparently as permanent as their antiquity and beauty—all over the pleasant land.

The will of George, father of the above John Allen, is still extant, and gives us an interesting glimpse into the patriarchal manner of life, the customs and habit of thought which prevailed in those days. It is dated 27th March, 1530, and the testator describing himself as “sicke yn body and hole in mynd” first bequeaths his soul to God Almighty, and to St. Mary, and to all the celestial company of heaven, his body to be buried within the Church of All Hallows (Bispham) near unto that of his father; all his lands he leaves to his wife Isabel during her lifetime, and afterwards to John, his eldest son. To his wife and his three sons he gives all his goods movable and immovable “except such good as I shall gyff and bequeath for the helth of my soule.” After disposing of certain moneys to his wife and sons, “sixteen oxen with all the gear belonging” to the eldest, as well as six sheep to the said “John and his wyff,” and many smaller legacies of money and cattle, sheep and lambs to divers relations and dependants, we find: “I bequeath to the abbot and convent of Cokersand to pray for [my soul] xx^s. Also to Sir Edward Bonde, priest, to syng for . . . by the space of iij yeares xij^s for his annual . . . and yerely for xx yeres, iijj ls.” The churches of Poulton

¹ Appendix A.

and All Hallows, the chapels of Singleton and Hambledon are not forgotten, that in them prayers for his soul may be remembered. His executors are his wife and eldest son who are charged to act "accordinge to the tenure of this my p'sent Testament and for the helth of my soule . . . as they shall answer me at the day of dome." The witnesses are numerous : "Mr. Hugh Sneyde, Bac. of Divinitie and Vicar of the parish church of Poulton ; Sir Gilbert Isworth, chanon and sub-prior of Cokersand, Sir Edward Bonde cap, William Whyteside, cap" (by which we see that a country gentleman of those days kept two chaplains), John Calvert of Northbrook, etc.

Rossall Grange, so called because the Cistercian monks of Dieulacres in Staffordshire—a monastery founded in the time of King John—had built there an extensive grange, was held by the Allens on lease from the abbots of Dieulacres. Traces of the foundations of the old grange, at a place called Fenny may still be seen, and on the adjoining warren is a pathway known as the Abbots' Walk.

As the rising tide of the New Learning was to sweep away the ancient faith, so have the waters more gradually encroached upon the shore, until they now cover the spot where stood the ancient home of the Allens ; the old watch tower of the Hall alone remains, on the domain of the present Rossall School. Against sandhills covered with star-grass the waves of the ocean beat, but the prospect which lay before the eyes of the inmates of that submerged house remains the same : through the misty Lancashire sky they could catch at intervals views of the Black Coomb in Cumberland, of the Orme's Head and the Snowdon range ; on some fortunate midsummer evening they might see, in high relief, before the setting sun, the mountains of the Isle of Man. The sons of that peaceful sea-girt house would appear to have regarded it with an almost passionate fondness. There, in the year 1532, was born William, the future cardinal, third son of John Allen and Jane his wife, and was baptized at All Hallows Church, Bispham, where his grandfather and great-grandfather were buried. The days of peace were already numbered, but little did any man guess that the generation now coming into being

was to be the last at Rossall, and that all its members save one ¹⁵³² were to end their days in exile.

Strange rumours of King Henry's doings had indeed already startled even the more distant of his subjects—his purpose of divorce, the beginning of his quarrel with the Pope, and, a few months after their son William's birth, the Allens with the rest of his Majesty's faithful lieges, heard the incredible news that he had gone through a marriage ceremony with Anne Boleyn, while Queen Katherine still lived, and before any decree of divorce, by his own appointed court, had been pronounced.

Although there is no evidence that any members of the Allen family took part in the rising in the North and the ¹⁵³⁷ Pilgrimage of Grace, the events of the next fifteen years—the suppression of the monasteries and the King's assumption of the headship of the Church in England, were not without their effect upon them personally. When their neighbour, John Paslew, the aged abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Whalley, was hanged in front of his monastery on the 10th March, 1537, for his share in the Pilgrimage, one of the two monks executed with him was William Haydock, of the Haydocks of Cottam Hall, the intimate friends and near neighbours of the Allens.¹

The connection was to become closer by the subsequent marriage of Vivian, grand-nephew of William Haydock, with Mrs. George Allen's sister, the daughter of William Westby, of Mowbreck Hall.

Two years after the tragedy at Whalley, the abbey of Dieulacres was suppressed, and its possessions—including Rossall Grange—annexed to the crown.²

¹ John Paslew was in the thirtieth year of his abbacy at the time of his death. He is described as between sixty and seventy years of age in 1530, with health already broken. Stow reckons him the twenty-fifth abbot of Whalley. *Ann.*, p. 574 [*History of Lancashire*, vol. ii, p. 139].

² There is a tradition that "William," found as Abbot of Dieulacres in 1520, was William Allen. If so, he died before the suppression of the monastery. The last abbot was Thomas Whitney. The site was granted (sixth Edward VI) to Sir Ralph Bagnall [*Dugdale's Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 626]. In the last year of Edward VI, by letters patent, 13th March, 1553, the young king granted Rossall—subject, of course, to the lease—to Thomas Fleetwood.

1547

Vit. Alani,
p. 55*ibid.*,
p. 57

Under these circumstances, young William Allen spent the first years of his life, being educated at home under the watchful care of his parents, according to his future secretary and biographer, Nicholas Fitzherbert. Having attained his fifteenth year, in 1547—the year of Henry VIII's death—he was entered at Oriel College, Oxford. His academical career seems to have been almost phenomenal in the rapidity of his advancement in learning, his extraordinary industry and exactness under discipline, and the singular modesty and integrity of his life. He became Bachelor of Arts in 1550, and was unanimously elected fellow of his college in the same year—the eighteenth of his age. His tutor at Oxford was the Rev. Morgan Philipps, a Welshman, famed for his skill in disputation, whom Fitzherbert describes as “*vir maxime Catholici*,” and who, according to Wood, was called “Morgan the Sophister.”¹ Under his tuition Allen, “profited to a miracle in logic and philosophy,” and his biographer does not fail to mention the comeliness and beauty of his outward man.

It has been alleged that on taking his B.A. degree Allen must “at least, have professed himself of the reformed religion”;² but of this there is no evidence, and, in the words of a later writer: “We know that through life Allen’s convictions would prevent his taking the oath of supremacy . . . to admit, therefore, such a charge, we must require positive evidence, and not a conjecture made two centuries after the supposed occurrence.”³ What evidence there is points the other way: his tutor, Morgan Philipps, principal of St. Mary Hall, was one of the three eminent Catholic divines who, in the month of May, 1549, undertook a public disputation with Peter Martyr in the Divinity Hall of the University.⁴ And

1549

¹ *Athenae Oxon.*, i, 432: Ed. Bliss.

² Whitaker: *History of Richmondshire*, i, 444.

³ Thos. Heywood, F.S.A.: *Defence of Sir William Stanley*. Intro., p. lxxv.

⁴ Wood: *Annals of Oxford* (ed. Gutch, ii, p. 93). The other two disputants were William Tresham and William Chedsey. The discussion—on the Eucharist—began on the 28th May and lasted four days. Chedsey and Peter Martyr published accounts of the disputation. Morgan Philipps resigned his office the following year.

it seems probable that the Richard Allen, fellow of Corpus Christi College, who was committed to the Fleet on the 15th June, 1551, for having said mass on Corpus Christi Day, was identical with Richard Allen of Rossall, William's uncle.¹ Moreover, Allen's own college, Oriel, is specially mentioned by William Turner, afterwards Dean of Wells, in a letter to Cecil, as a stronghold of Popery. “The Papists,” he writes, “will live their time in the college benefices.”

R.O.,
Nov. 12th,
1550

However great the material destruction wrought in the University under Edward VI, the principles of the Reformation made but slow progress among its members. The schools were neglected by professors and scholars alike; the yearly average of degrees, which under Henry VIII had dwindled from 127 in 1534 to forty-four in 1536, fell to thirty-three the year of his son's accession; while in one or two years during Edward's short reign, no degree of any kind appears to have been conferred. The Royal Commissioners—Goodier, Bishop of Ely, Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Paget, Thomas Smith, John Cheke, and Richard Cox—sent in the name of the young king in November, 1548, to the visitation of the two Universities and Eton College, did their work with enthusiasm. At Oxford, Duke Humphrey's magnificent public library was stripped of all its books and MSS., the very bookshelves being torn down from its walls; the archives were pillaged, and the privileges of the University disannulled; all academical degrees were abrogated as anti-christian. “From these measures,” says Warton, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, “many of the colleges were in a short time entirely deserted.” What the commission of 1548 failed to accomplish, was further attempted by the new commissioners appointed “for the Visitation of Oxford” in the autumn of 1551.

¹ See Appendix A. Doctor Morwen, president of the college, and Welch, a Fellow, were committed to prison at the same time, for the same offence. The keeper of the Fleet appears to have been too lenient to them, for we find a further entry in the Council Book, under date of 10th October, 1551, that Allen had been “suffered to have conference with others, and to translate a supplication into Latin for Peter Paulo, an Italian.”

As soon as death had relieved Cranmer from the pressure of the heavy hand of Henry VIII, he gave free vent to his zeal for the New Learning. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was sent to the Tower on the 30th June, 1548, and Cranmer had already invited Pietro Martire Vermiglio and Ochino, two of the foremost Italian reformers to England, receiving them at Lambeth, and obtaining for each of them a pension of forty marks, secured by letters patent. The expenses of their outfit and journey from Strasburg he also paid—£126 7s. 6d.¹ The following year, February, 1548, Vermiglio, or Peter Martyr, as he is most generally known, was incorporated D.D. at Oxford, and appointed Regius Professor at the end of March, succeeding Richard Smith, deprived. On the 20th January, 1550-51, he was installed in the first canonry of Christ Church. The ex-nun, Catherine Dampmartin, whom he had married at Strasburg, and the wife of Richard Cox, Dean of Christ Church and Chancellor of the University, "were the first women," says Wood, "as 'twas observ'd, that resided in any college or hall in Oxon." The innovation was so badly received by the people, the windows of Peter Martyr's lodgings, which looked into Fish Street, were so often broken, "especially in the night time," that he removed to the lodging of the second canonry in the cloister. There, early in 1553, his wife died of a fever and was buried, to the further great scandal of the people, in the desecrated shrine of Saint Frideswide in Christ Church Cathedral.

Dean Cox, who had a main hand in introducing foreigners into the University, such as Stumphius and John ab Ulmis, was so furious in his zeal for destruction that "the mad work that he made," as Wood calls it, procured for him the reproachful name of the *cancellor*, instead of *chancellor* of the University.² He presided as moderator at the four days' disputation in the Divinity Hall, between Peter Martyr and the three Catholic divines, and frequently interposed, according to Sanders, to help Martyr. In the state of confusion in which

¹ *Ashmole MS.*, No. 826.

² Wood: *Hist. et Ant.*, p. 270; Dixon, iii, 101, 108.

Oxford was now plunged, Allen and the men who thought with him pursued their studies under difficulties, and doubtless in as private a manner as they could.

And then, in a day, at the accession of Mary, all was changed : Cox, who was apprehended on suspicion of complicity with Northumberland's plot, was detained a few months in the Marshalsea and deprived of his preferments, which included the rectorship of Harrow and deanery of Windsor. On his liberation he made his way, in May, 1554, to Frankfort, where the fiery zeal that possessed him ignited the celebrated "Troubles of Frankfort," between himself and his followers—known as the "Coxians"—on the one hand, and John Knox and his party—the "Knoxians": a quarrel which became so loud and embittered that the magistrates of the city were compelled to interfere, to prevent the disputants from coming to blows.

Peter Martyr was yet more leniently treated: he was confined to his own lodgings for six weeks, and then allowed to come to London, where Cranmer received him at Lambeth. The Queen then gave him a safe conduct, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, supplied him with the money to return to Strasburg, where he was re-instated in his former position as professor of theology.

William Allen's tutor, Morgan Philipps, was made precentor of St. David's College; Richard Smith, whom Martyr had succeeded as Regius Professor, and who had proposed the famous disputation of May, 1549, being subsequently imprisoned and flying into Flanders, now returned to his professorship, and was appointed chaplain to the Queen and a canon of Christchurch.¹

Tresham, one of the three disputants, was released from the Fleet;² and Chedsey, who had been sent to the Marshalsea

¹ Smith, Richard, D.D. [1500–1563], born in Worcestershire, was described by Wood as "the greatest pillar for the Roman Catholic cause in his time."

² Tresham, William [*d.* 1569], born at Oakley Magna, Northamptonshire. He was B.A. (Oxford) in 1514–15 and D.D. in 1532. He advocated the divorce of Katherine of Arragon. Tresham's account of the disputation with Peter Martyr is extant in *Harl. MS.* 422;

after his appearance in the same disputation, was now presented to the living of All Saints, Broad Street, and made Canon of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.¹ The great majority of the University professors, whether they had conformed to the changes under Edward VI or not, acquiesced quietly, and, as far as it is possible to discover, contentedly to the return of the former state of things. That Allen's own studies had not unduly suffered during the general stagnation of learning under Edward, is best shown by the rapidity of his advancement after the accession of Mary. He proceeded M.A., 16th July, 1554, when twenty-two years old, and it was at this moment that he resolved to dedicate himself to the ecclesiastical state, a purpose he was to carry out twelve years later in the days of his exile.² He took his M.A. degree in company with two men considerably older than himself—Thomas Harding and Nicholas Harpsfield, both of whom subsequently became controversialists of repute, the former dying in exile at Louvain, and the latter, after more than twenty years' imprisonment, in the Tower.³ The restoration

and, according to Wood, was printed in London in 1549. Under Elizabeth, Tresham refused all preferments, and was committed to the custody of Archbishop Parker, who subsequently permitted him to retire to his native county, Northamptonshire.

¹ Chedsey, or Cheadsey, William, D.D. [1510 ?–1574], was a native of Shropshire, a Fellow of Corpus Christi College in 1533, and D.D. in 1546. After the disgrace of Somerset, Chedsey inveighed openly at Oxford against the reformed doctrines. In September, 1558, he was made president of Corpus; but was removed by Elizabeth's commissioners the following year, deprived of all his preferments, and sent to the Fleet, where he appears to have spent the rest of his days.

² Dodd: *Church History*, ii, p. 44.

³ Harding, Thomas, D.D. [1513–1572], a native of Bickington or Combe Martin, co. Devon; educated at Winchester; admitted to New College, Oxford, in 1536; and appointed Hebrew Professor by Henry VIII. Like many other divines, Harding conformed to the times during the reigns of that monarch and his son; but as soon as Mary came to the throne, he strongly denounced the doctrines of the Reformers. He was appointed Treasurer of Salisbury in 1555, and was one of the first to be deprived of his preferments by Elizabeth. Sanders describes him as *facile princeps* among controversialists and the best Hebraist at Oxford. *Gillow, Dic. Cath. Bio.* Harpsfield, Nicholas [1519 ?–1576], educated at Winchester and New College,

of learning was no slight task after an interregnum of some five years' duration, when the public schools had been allotted to the lowest uses: "*In scholis artium pannos exsiccabant mulierculae lotrices*," says Wood. Cardinal Pole was made Chancellor of both Universities and, in the words of Warton, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, introduced into England the pure and useful elegancies of classical composition." He called to his aid, in lieu of the ejected foreign reformers, several learned Spaniards and Italians, the chief of whom is thus described by Wood in his *Athenae*—

"Peter de Sotho, or Soto, born at Cordova, Dominican, doctor of University of Salamanca, most eminent ornament of his order. . . . Professor of Divinity at Dillingen in Swabia. . . . With John de Villa-Garcia, and one or two more, he was sent to Oxford, preached often, and read lectures on St. Thomas, whose works had been with scorn cast out from all, or most libraries in this University in time of Edward VI, and was ready upon all times and occasions to instruct and resolve doubts. . . . In a word, there was nothing wanting on his part, and though he had no canonry of Church, or headship bestowed on him, yet he had a considerable revenue allowed him out of the King's [Philip II] exchequer."¹

Pole had employed Soto as his agent in the difficult negotiations with Charles V prior to his own journey to England, and esteemed him as one of the ablest men and greatest theologians of his time. When Soto arrived at Oxford, and found how much the study of theology had been neglected, no works of the kind being publicly expounded, he suggested to the Chancellor that it would be useful to appoint an interpreter of the doctrine of Pietro Lombardo, the eminent doctor

Oxford; Fellow in 1535; and first Regius Professor of Greek in 1546. He retired to Louvain during the reign of Edward VI. In 1554 he was made D.C.L. and proctor to the Court of Arches, and Archdeacon of Canterbury in the following year. As prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, Harpsfield presented the remonstrance against the Reformation in 1559; he was imprisoned in the Tower from that year until his death in 1575. His *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, edited by Richard Gibbons, appeared in 1662. He left MS. lives of Cranmer and Sir Thomas More.

¹ All lectures were delivered in Latin, which was pronounced in the Italian fashion. Latin was currently spoken at both the universities, and students were fined a halfpenny if they spoke English.

of the twelfth century, who was called, on account of his *sententiae*, "Magister Sententiarum." Pole hastened to comply, and treated with the Queen for the exchange of the Hebrew scholarship, which had few or no pupils, for a theological one—in such wise as to cause no detriment to the former professor.¹

Another of the Cardinal's most useful instruments in the reform of the Universities was Dr. Nicolo Ormanetto, doctor of civil law of Padua, who had long been a member of his household at Viterbo, and who had accompanied him to England. He was incorporated at Oxford on the 21st July, 1556. Wood describes him as "one of the prime visitors appointed by Cardinal Pole, legate *a latere*." He afterwards sat in the Council of Trent, and was made Bishop of Padua in 1570, "in which see," adds Wood, "sitting seven years, died full of praise and in a good old age." Fra Bartolomeo Miranda, another famous Spanish Divine, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, was employed at Oxford, and Pole claimed his and Soto's services, calling them from Oxford to Lambeth during the Synod of Westminster, opened by him on the 4th November, 1555.

William Allen probably benefited more than any other member of the University by the re-opened fountains of learning now available, as may be judged by the profound erudition, the universality of knowledge and the classic and chastened elegance of his controversial writings in the time to come. In 1556, at the early age of twenty-four, he was chosen Principal of St. Mary Hall, and the same year was made proctor of the University, an office which his biographer, Fitzherbert, describes "as lucrative as it is honourable," and which he filled with so much benefit to the University that he was unanimously re-elected the following year. It would be interesting to know whether Cardinal Pole and the brilliant young principal of St. Mary Hall, who was to be Pole's successor as "Cardinal of England," ever had any personal intercourse. Unless Allen went to London, it is doubtful whether they ever came face to face: Pole's visitation of Oxford in

¹ After the death of Queen Mary, Soto returned to Spain, and went thence to the Council of Trent, where he died in April, 1563.

November, 1556, was carried out by his commissioners, and ¹⁵⁵⁶ we have no reason to suppose that he ever visited Oxford or Cambridge after his return to England. On the 16th November, he went to Sheen and restored the Carthusians to their ancient monastery, his own first school; and he would doubtless—had he had the time—have been almost equally happy to revisit Oxford, and his own college, Magdalen, where his career had been as phenomenally brilliant—under easier circumstances—as Allen's at Oriel. On the 27th of that month, he had his first interview with the Lady Elizabeth; on the 30th, St. Andrew's Day, the second anniversary of England's release from schism was celebrated at Westminster Abbey, in his presence, and that of the whole Court: he was, moreover, deeply engaged in trying to prevent a breach of the peace between Pope Paul IV and Philip II.

There are still extant, in the Archives of the Bodleian, several documents which tend to show that Pole never went to Oxford in person. Elected Chancellor on the 26th October, 1556, his letters, dated 10th November, appointing Dr. Thomas Reynolds commissary, were read in Convocation on the 14th, and his statutes were read on that and the following day. In the Vice-Chancellor's accounts, we find payment made for the Vice-Chancellor's expenses in going to London to the Lord Cardinal after Christmas "*pro Indenturis Collegiorum recuperandis*," when he had to wait three days for the Cardinal's book of statutes. His expenses are given:—"xxvi^s vii^d," which must be multiplied by ten for their equivalent at the present day. The Vice-Chancellor took with him the ceremonial gift of two pairs of gloves, "for the Cardinal and the Earl of Arundel, V^s, iiii^d." This ceremony of presenting the gloves is ample proof that there was no expectation of a visit from the Chancellor, and disposes of the assertion that he visited the University.¹

That Allen's merits were not unknown to Pole seems evident: not only would the fame of his attainments and learning reach

¹ Bodleian Archives: *Reg. I*, fol. 162b, fol. 163b. Vice-Chancellor's Accounts, 6th Nov., 1556–16th [Nov.], 1557. (S. 1a.)

1556

the ears of the Chancellor of the University, but it is said that Pole himself designated him to Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, as one of the Fellows of the new society Pope intended to institute.¹ And the canonry of York, conferred upon Allen, though still a layman, in 1558, was in all probability bestowed by the Cardinal's direction or influence.

Our attempt to depict the background of Oxford to the figure of William Allen would be incomplete, without a reference to the grim tragedy of the trial and death of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. Dr. Soto was labouring hard in controversy with the three prisoners in November, 1555, and the execution of Cranmer's sentence was postponed again and again for two years, chiefly at Cardinal Pole's intercession. When it was finally carried out, on the 21st March, 1556, Allen most probably stood among the spectators, for all Oxford was there. Though it may truly be said that the three victims had brought their doom upon themselves by their repeated treasons and provocations, when, as Dr. Gairdner reminds us, "heresy at this time undoubtedly meant disloyalty";² and though their fate may have satisfied the sense of justice of the majority of the people, it did, indeed, light a fire which has been burning through the centuries.

The observant Venetian ambassador, Michiel, at once recognised the danger, and after announcing to the Doge and Senate that Cranmer had been put to death, added the significant words—

"This . . . will cause still greater commotion, as is demonstrated daily by the way the preachers are treated, and the contemptuous demonstrations made in the churches."

How often Allen went home during his scholastic life, we

¹ The Cardinal took great interest in Sir Thomas Pope's foundation, and they were on intimate terms of friendship. Numerous communications passed between them, and Pole promised to help Pope in settling the advowson of Garsington on the College [H. D. Blakiston, D.D.: *History of Trinity College*, p. 37]. The first president of Trinity College was Thomas Slythurst, D.D., who was ejected and sent to the Tower, where he "died of grief," says Warton, in 1560.

² Gairdner: *Lollardy and the Reformation*, p. 308.

know not. Even during the long vacation, the long and expensive journey, a ride of several days, between Oxford and Rossall Grange, was a serious undertaking not untinged with danger, and probably not accomplished every year. At Easter and Christmas few members of the University left Oxford at all. His eldest brother, George Allen, married Elizabeth Westby of Mowbreck Hall, about the year 1552, which is the only family event of which we have a record, until the death of their father, John Allen, some fifteen years later.

CHAPTER II

THE opinion may be hazarded, that Elizabeth carried with her to the throne an open mind with regard to questions of religion; and that if any points of doctrine or dogma ever impressed themselves on her subtle and powerful intellect, they were probably of those offered for her acceptance at the time of her submission, or pretended submission, to the Church of Rome four years previously. Setting aside her own declarations, and loudly expressed wish that the earth might open and swallow her if she was not a true Roman Catholic, as uttered for merely political reasons during her sister's reign, there are not wanting indications that such was the case; that there was hesitation and reluctance as she stood at the parting of the ways, that she would have preferred replacing matters as they had been in the time of her father, rather than under Edward VI, and that she was hurried along by her advisers and the strain of circumstances faster than she would have chosen.¹

Her passionate interruption of her own chaplain, Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, when he ventured, in a sermon preached in the Chapel Royal, to attack the cross, is well known, as

¹ When Mary, on her death-bed, urged her sister to declare her real sentiments on the subject of religion, the latter "prayed God that the earth might open and swallow her up alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic" [*MS. life of the Duchess of Feria*, cited by Lingard: *History of England*, vol. VII. 241]. "When she was upon other matters sometimes examined by commissioners from the Queen, she would herself take occasion to complain that the Queen, her sister, should seem to have any doubt of her religion, and would thereupon make her protestation and swear that she was a Catholic" [Sir Francis Englefield, quoted in *Jerusalem and Babel*, p. 435, nominally compiled by "P. D. M."; hitherto interpreted to stand for Matthew Pattenson, M.D., but believed by Mr. Gillow to have been written by Fr. Lawrence Anderton, S.J., alias "John Brekeley, priest," and first printed at his secret press at Lostock Hall, co. Lancaster, on or before 1613. Tierney's *Dodd*, ii, p. 119]. "Several circumstances made those of the old religion judge favourably of her: she both heard divine service after the Romish manner, and was often confessed" [*ibid.*, p. 121].

also her retention, in her royal closet of the Cross and lighted ¹⁵⁵⁸ candles, much to the dismay of the Calvinistic-minded.¹ The new Queen had little but contempt, which she made no effort to disguise, for the hierarchy she had herself created: a contempt which was to change into abhorrence in that last scene in her death-chamber, when, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his brother prelates—come to offer their ministrations—she cried out that she was “no Atheist,” and bade them “go packing” as “hedge priests”: taking it “for an indignity that they should speak to her.”² Her attitude towards the married clergy was bitterly but unavailingy resented. Dr. Sandys, Bishop of Ely, wrote to Matthew Parker, 30th April, 1559—

“Lever was married now of late; the Queen’s Majesty will wink at it, but not establish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children.” Burnet,
V, 506

Edward Rishton, in his continuation of Sanders’ *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, published in 1585, says—

“Neither bishop nor archbishop, nor any other prelate, if married, can give any rank or precedence to his wife, who is no better than an unmarried woman. Accordingly the Queen never receives these women in Court, not even those who are said to be the wives of archbishops. The wives of the nobility avoid them also.”

Perceval Wiburn thus sums up the matter—

“The lord bishops are forbidden to have their wives with them in their palaces; as also are the deans, canons, presbyters, and other ministers of the church within colleges or the precincts of cathedral churches.” [*Zürich Letters*, 2d Series, p. 359.]

It is true that Elizabeth had been the ally of the Reformers, the soul and centre of the plots and intrigues, and the risings

¹ “Particularly when one of her chaplains, Mr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul’s, had spoken less reverently in a sermon preached before her, of the Sign of the Cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and return to his text” [Heylin: *Hist. Reform.*, p. 124].

² *The Relation of the Lady Southwell*, April, 1607. She was one of Elizabeth’s maids of honour, appointed 5th January, 1599. *Stonyhurst MSS.*, Ang., A. iii, 77. Tierney’s *Dodd*, vol. iii, p. 73.

1558

against her sister's crown ; but it is doing her no injustice to suppose that she would have thrown them over without scruple, had she deemed it to her interest to do so.

A trace of hesitancy betrays itself on the first day of the new reign. The first state paper of 17th November, the day of Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession, is a memorandum in Cecil's writing :—" To send special messages to the Pope, Emperor, the Kings of Spain, Denmark, [England was still at war with France] to Venice." Before the evening of the same day other counsels had prevailed, and we find a second note in Cecil's hand :—" To send messengers, to the Emperor, Sir William Pickering, Sir — Wotton, to the King of Spain, etc." The Pope has been left out.

At no time in her long and famous career did Elizabeth display greater skill and cunning than in the manner in which she had steered her course up to this moment. With consummate craft she had led the Catholics, who, at the time of Mary's death, numbered more than two-thirds of the nation, to accept—even if some of them did not quite believe—the sincerity of her conversion, of her promises to make no alterations in religion ; while the men of the New Learning had an equal and better-founded belief that she would side with them. The first important result of this state of things was, that never had prince succeeded more peaceably to the throne ; not a single voice nor hand was raised against her throughout the length and breadth of the land : which would assuredly not have been the case, if either of the two great parties had suspected her of designs against them.

It was the singular good fortune of the Protestants that the one man of genius in statecraft, in England at the time, was their devoted adherent. William Cecil had, it is true, conformed under Mary, had received the Sacrament in the Catholic Church, had obtained from Cardinal Pole a dispensation from eating fish in Lent ;¹ but that Queen distrusted him, only employing him in a minor capacity as one of her envoys, sent

¹ Record Office : *Dom. Mary VIII*, i. *Pole's Register*, Douay, f. 78.

to escort Pole from Flanders to England as papal legate. 1558 Pole, recognising his transcendent ability, took him abroad in May 1555, on his fruitless errand to make peace between the Emperor and Henry II of France ; but for the Queen's opposition, he would doubtless have advanced him further, and it is remarkable that the only legacy in the Cardinal's will to any person of the Court, is that of a silver inkstand to Sir William Cecil. R.O.,
Dom. Eliz.,
I, 24

Cecil, whom a contemporary describes as "a man supple in mind, counsel and conscience,"¹ turned "towards the rising sun" and offered his services to the Lady Elizabeth before her accession ; becoming from that day forth the guide and minister of her acts, primarily and especially with regard to the all-important question of religion. With his brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Francis Walsingham he formed the trio who exercised unlimited influence in the direction of the New Learning—

"Indeed, but for these three, the Elizabethan settlement of religion would have been impossible. To them, more than to any other three men, the final separation from Rome may be ascribed, and amongst those three, Bacon and Cecil in point of time take precedence of Walsingham."²

As Elizabeth's first act was to make Cecil chief Secretary of State, so for the rest of her wise minister's life, did she prove her own cleverness by submitting to his guidance, even when it ran counter to her own will and passions—and they were the will and passions of her Tudor father. On the other hand, with Cardinal Pole's death a few hours after that of his cousin and Queen, the Catholics lost their only great man. He had himself deplored the lack of talent among the men of the day, at the time of Gardiner's death : writing of his difficulty in finding a worthy successor for the great seals, and obliged at last to place them in the hands of a respectable mediocrity,

¹ Rishton's continuation of Sanders' *Growth of the Anglican Schism*, p. 243.

² Dom Norbert Birt : *The Settlement of Religion under Elizabeth*, p. 254.

when he advised Mary to make Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, Chancellor of the kingdom.¹

The same indigence was noticeable now: the Spanish Ambassador, Count Feria, writing to Philip II after the anti-Catholic bills had become law, reminds the King that "the Catholics are in a great majority in the country; and if the leading men in it were not of so small account, things would have gone differently."²

Elizabeth's slowness and hesitancy annoyed the Reformers, as we see by Jewel's complaint in a letter to Peter Martyr, describing the state of affairs on his return from exile after Mary's death:—The Roman pontiff not yet cast out; no part of religion yet restored; "The country still everywhere desecrated by the mass"—

"The Bishops are a great hindrance to us; for being, as you know, among the nobility and leading men in the Upper House, and having none there on our side to expose their artifices . . . they easily over-reach our little party, either by their numbers, or their reputation for learning. . . . The Queen, meanwhile, though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations. . . . She is, however, prudently, and firmly, and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish."³

Elizabeth's hesitation might have endured, despite the pressure of Cecil—who had his plans ready cut and dried—and the urgency of the reformers, but for two important events, which occurred simultaneously at the very outset of her reign. The young Queen of Scots, Dauphiness of France, assumed, unquestionably by direction of her father-in-law, King Henry II, the arms and title of Queen of England, immediately upon the death of Mary; and the French Court openly denied Elizabeth's right to the crown of England. The English commissioners at that moment engaged with the envoys of France in negotiating peace at Cercamp, had been sent by the late Queen, and were therefore presumably likely to take a

¹ Pole described Archbishop Heath to the Pope as "very zealous and honest, and suffered imprisonment under Edward VI."

² Brussels: *Chron. Belg.*, No. cccxvi, i, p. 529.

³ John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, to Peter Martyr: *Zürich Letters*, vol. i, No. 4, p. 10.



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS WHEN DAUPHINESS OF FRANCE, BY
PRIMAVERA ; STRUCK ON HER ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE OF
" QUEEN OF ENGLAND "

Catholic view of the question and objections proposed by the other side.¹⁵⁵⁸

The English envoys were Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham and Lord Cobham, and their reports to their sovereign betray the embarrassment into which they had been thrown. Cobham wrote, 13th December, 1558, that his French colleagues "did not let to say and to talk openly how your Majesty is not lawful Queen of England, and that they have already sent to Rome to dispute your Majesty's right."

R.O.,
For. Eliz.
I, 82

When the English envoys claimed the redelivery of Calais, they were met by the retort. "Put the case that Calais were to be redelivered and that we did owe such debt to the Crown of England. To whom shall we redeliver Calais? Shall we deliver Calais and those debts to another, and thereby prejudice the right of the Queen of Scots, and of the Dauphin, her husband?"¹

Instead of upholding their sovereign's honour, her commissioners met the French objections in a way which drew down upon them her stern rebuke. They had thought to find a way out of the difficulty by evading the point, and by proposing that the Crown should be substituted for the ruler, and that the question of the rightful wearer thereof might stand over for future discussion, on the plea that at the moment they were not prepared to meet the French objections on that score. "The French," they complained, "labour at Rome, to the Pope, for the disabling of your Majesty to the Crown, and entitling the Queen of Scots thereunto."²

Such an evasion of the question by her own representatives can have been no less galling to the new Queen than the raising of it by the Court of France; and must have been the more intolerable, from her own consciousness of the invalidity of her title. But she was not the woman to admit the weak points in her case, and the instinct of self-preservation, no less than her pride and dignity, rose to the challenge. She wrote at once to her commissioners that she had—

"Great cause . . . to mislike certain matters that touch our

¹ Brussels *Chron. Belg.*, No. cccvii, i, p. 455. Birt, p. 6.

² Brussels *Chron. Belg.*, No. cccvii, i, p. 455. Birt, p. 7.

1558
For. Eliz.,
No. 390-392

estate too nigh neither we may nor ever will, permit any over whom we have rule, or may have, to make doubt, question or treaty of this matter. We like not the matter as it is handled."

Moreover, she despatched Sir John Mason without a moment's delay to Cateau Cambresis "to show them how much we dislike their doings": she could "not tell how to interpret their meaning, first to suffer such words with patience, and next to make a doubt of it themselves."¹ We cannot wonder that incidents so untoward should have incensed Elizabeth—more than any other consideration—against the large majority of her own subjects, who could not, as Catholics, look upon the question of her legitimacy in any other light than that in which it was regarded by the whole of Christendom, from the Pope downwards. The men of the New Learning, on the other hand, accepted the decrees of Henry VIII and of Cranmer as good and valid in morals and in law: with them the question was safe: to have raised it would in itself have been a siding with Rome, of which they were one and all incapable.

It was true that the men of the old faith had accepted her as their Queen without doubt or hesitation, relying on the statute of the 25th Henry VIII, which established her in the order of succession; but contingencies might always arise which would put their loyalty to the test: above all some pronouncement against her right on the part of the sovereign pontiff. Herein, in all probability, lay the key-note of Elizabeth's religious policy, rather than in any affection for the doctrines of the reformers, or detestation of the "errors of Popery." And having once set out on the course of obtaining uniformity by coercion, hers was not the disposition to be stayed by considerations of tolerance or of mercy.²

On this victorious path, she was to find her chief stumbling-block in the person of the young fellow of Oriel, and principal of St. Mary Hall, William Allen—her senior by a few months,—

¹ Tunstall was deprived of his see in Sept., 1559, and died in captivity.

² Heylin, in his *History*, no doubt expressed Elizabeth's firm conviction, when he wrote [p. 275]: "She knew full well that her legitimation and the Pope's supremacy could not stand together; and that she could not possibly maintain the one, without discarding the other."

who was to prove himself, in exile and in poverty, the rescuer¹⁵⁵⁸ and champion of her victims, the inspirer of resistance to her decrees, backed though they were by all the forces at her command. But for him, Elizabeth might have swept the old religion into the seas, as completely as did Christian III in Denmark.

It is not difficult to understand that the mighty changes they had already seen, the wrecking of so much that they had held most dear, should have predisposed many persons for the signs and portents, which at all times have been said to accompany or herald periods of disaster. Such an incident still lingers in tradition in the neighbourhood of Rossall—Mrs. George Allen's sister, the wife of Vivian Haydock of Cottam Hall, was lying on her sick bed in the moated and semi-fortified old manor-house, after giving birth to her youngest son, when her husband came to announce to her the death of Queen Mary, and the accession of the Lady Elizabeth. Despite her submission to Rome, and all her vehement protestations, Elizabeth's former close alliance with the reformers was too well known to men like the Allens and Haydocks, not to inspire them with gloomy forebodings, as to the prospect her advent to the throne might open out before them. Vivian Haydock, who had stood by the scaffold and seen the blood of his great-uncle shed by order of Henry VIII, now stood absorbed in painful thought by his wife's bedside. Divining what was passing through his mind, his wife raised her feeble frame, and pointing to the arras at the foot of the bed, slowly and distinctly pronounced the words of the motto embroidered under the Haydock arms—*Tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium*; then, clasping her child to her side, she fell back dead in her husband's arms.¹

William Allen's experiences at Oxford, under Edward VI, may have raised forebodings in his own mind as to what lay

¹ The Haydocks were one of the oldest families in Lancashire. Hugh de Haydock held the manors of Haydock and Cottam in the thirteenth century, at which time the family and estates were divided. The child prophetically ushered into the world in 1558 was George, the future priest and martyr [1558–1584]. Gillow: *Haydock Papers*, pp. 1, 6.

1558

before him, as soon as the Queen's intentions began to transpire ; but so strong were the old traditions in that University, that things continued as they were for a longer time than might have been expected.

Meanwhile in London, matters marched apace. Having manipulated Mary's council of thirty-four members, by dismissing twenty-three, and admitting eight ardent reformers, Elizabeth obtained a body of men ready to her will ; for of the eleven old councillors several conformed. But the real force lay in the small inner council or secret cabinet, composed of Cecil and his friends, who virtually controlled everything, and whose names appear regularly on the Council books.¹ In the House of Lords were many trimmers and reformers ; and Cecil further strengthened his party by the creation of five new peers of staunch Protestant principles—William Parr was restored to his title of Marquess of Northampton ; Edward Seymour was made Earl of Hertford ; Thomas, second son of the late Duke of Norfolk, Viscount Howard of Bindon ; Sir Oliver St. John, Lord Bletso, and Sir Henry Carey, son of Mary Boleyn, and consequently the Queen's first cousin, Lord Hunsdon. Unfortunately for the Catholic cause, death had been so busy in the ranks of the episcopate, that after the demise of Cardinal Pole, there were no less than ten vacant bishoprics, and ten sees unrepresented in the House of Lords in Elizabeth's first Parliament.²

1558-9

For Mary's first Parliament, instructions had been sent to the sheriffs throughout the country, to return good Catholic members to the House of Commons. Elizabeth's government bettered the instruction by furnishing each sheriff with a list of candidates, out of whom the members were to be chosen. Strype tells us that five candidates were named for the shires and three for the boroughs.³ It is thus made clear how it was possible that the House of Commons, as representatives of the

¹ Lingard : *Hist. of England*, vol. vi, p. 2. (ed. 1855). Camden : I, pp. 26, 27.

² White, Bishop of Winchester, was already in the Tower on account of the sermon he had preached at Queen Mary's funeral.

³ *Clarendon Papers*, 92.

people, should have unanimously declared itself Catholic, ¹⁵⁵⁸⁻⁹ and then Protestant, within the short space of six years.

Heath, Archbishop of York, either received a hint, or deemed it prudent, to resign the seals, which, with the title of Lord Keeper, were transferred to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law. With a packed House of Commons, and a House of Lords which could be trusted, all things were ready for the opening of Parliament on the 25th January, in the presence of the Queen.

The manner in which the elections had been conducted was no secret. Feria, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Philip of 20th Feb.—

"The wickedness which is being planned in this Parliament, which consists of persons chosen throughout the country as being most perverse and heretical."¹

With this subservient House, the three great bills were passed, which effected the severance with Rome, established the Royal Supremacy, and decreed uniformity of worship according to the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, which had been hastily revised, and moulded into a less objectionable form by a committee of reformed divines, in secret assembly in the house of Sir Thomas Smith.²

¹ Eliz. :
C. I, C. 2, C. 4

Notwithstanding all the preliminary precautions of the Government, there was loud and strenuous opposition to these enactments, especially to the Act repudiating the supremacy of the Pope, and annexing the spiritual headship to the Crown.

Il Schifanoja, writing to the Castellan of Mantua, on the 14th March, between the first and second readings in the House of Lords, reports—

"Although the Lower House passed the Bill appointing Queen

¹ *Chron. Belg.*, No. ccci, i, p. 442; Birt, p. 55. Hume, in his history, admits that "some violence . . . was used in these elections" [vol. iv, p. 7, ed. 1854]; and Froude points out, as regards the Lower House: "The Catholics were loud in their complaints of the unfairness of the elections; and it may be assumed that a government which had contemplated the removal of every Catholic magistrate in the country [*The Device for the Alteration of Religion*: Cotton MSS., Julius F., vi, No. 86] exerted itself to the utmost in securing the return of its friends" [*History of England*, vol. vii, pp. 40, 41].

² Lingard: vol. vi, pp. 5, 7.

1558-9
Ven. Cal.,
No. 40

Elizabeth Supreme Head of the Church, nevertheless, in the Upper House, after many great alterations and disputes on the part of the bishops, and of other good and pious peers, the question has been consigned to silence for the last few days. But in the meanwhile the Court preachers, in the presence of her Majesty and people, are doing their utmost to convert the latter, seeking to prove by their false arguments, that the Pope has no authority, and uttering the most base and abominable things against the Apostolic See."¹

The same envoy, writing a week later, 21st March, thus describes the state of the two parties—

ibid.,
No. 45.

"Although the latter [the Protestants] increase in number, they are not so powerful as the Catholics, who comprise all the chief personages of the kingdom, with very great command in their estates, having also many followers; and the greater part of the common people out of London, in several provinces, are much attached to the Catholic religion."

"The battle raged so fiercely over the Supremacy Bill, passions were so aroused by it," writes Dom Norbert Birt, "that it has become impossible to follow the measure through all the stages and changes necessitated by violent and strenuous opposition in both Houses." The Act of Uniformity was opposed by the whole bench of bishops, and by nine lay peers; several of the latter must have absented themselves on one pretext or another, for that momentous measure was passed by a majority of three votes. Feria wrote to Philip II two days after the closing of the session—

"The saying of the Office in English, and the giving up of the Mass passed *by three votes only* in the Upper House, and with much opposition from the Bishops and certain peers."²

The Bill thus became law without a single episcopal vote in its favour. And this fact has been animadverted on as rendering the whole passage of the Act illegal and invalid.³

¹ This is corroborated by Richard Cox's own statement to Wesdiner, that, after his return from abroad, he and others had been "thundering forth in our pulpits, especially before our Queen Elizabeth, that the Roman pontiff is truly antichrist," etc. [*Zürich Letters*, i, p. 27].

² *Chron. Belg.* : No. cccxvi, i, p. 519. Birt : *Settlement of Religion under Elizabeth*, p. 90.

³ "We have it on fairly good authority that nine Temporal Lords, including the Treasurer (the Marquess of Winchester), and nine prelates (two bishops were in gaol) voted against the Bill, and that it

Under penalties of deprivation, imprisonment for life, and heavy fines, the saying of Mass was abolished from the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next ensuing—the 24th June.¹

The Oath of Supremacy was tendered to the Bishops who, to the number of fourteen, declined to take it, were deposed from their Sees, and sent to the Tower—one only, as is well known—Kitchen of Llandaff, accepting the new order of things. The Carthusians and Benedictines, restored under Mary, sought the path of exile almost to a man; and the majority of the clergy followed the example of their prelates, and refused to take the oath. Strype tells us that “the popish priests, that is, the majority of them, utterly refused.” As a consequence of this attitude, he further points out—

“Now, also, since many churches were left destitute, the ministers that remained, and that were put into the places of the popish priests, *especially in London*, were fain to serve three or four churches on Sundays and holy days.”²

If the theory were true, that the change of religion under Elizabeth responded to the desires of a nation and clergy weary of the doctrines of Rome, and thirsting to return to the purer tenets of Edward VI, not only would the attitude of the bishops and clergy have been diametrically different from what it was, but we should find proofs of the tendency in the two Universities. They were the seats of learning, the centres of

was only carried by three votes.” [F. W. Maitland: *Cambridge Modern History*, ii, p. 569.] The lawyers questioned the legality of the subsequent proceedings against the bishops, “on the ground that they were made the victims of laws which concerned the ecclesiastical polity, but which they, the ecclesiastical authorities, had never accepted on behalf of the Church.” [Frere: *Hist. of the English Church in the Reign of Elizabeth*, i, p. 39.]

¹ See Appendix B.

² The assertions of Dr. Creighton in his *Queen Elizabeth*, and of the Rev. H. Gee in *The Elizabethan Clergy*, as to the new order of things being welcomed by the people and acquiesced in by the clergy, have been refuted by the unquestionable evidence of contemporary documents, given by Dom Norbert Birt in his *Religious Settlement under Elizabeth*, p. 164.

thought, the pulse, so to speak, by which the spirit of the age in matters of belief and practice, could most surely be tested. The evidence is clear and decisive that at Oxford and at Cambridge—more especially at Oxford—the change was wrought by coercion from without, and not by a change of conviction within. As with the bishops and clergy, the heads of houses and professors were removed, and men of the New Learning put in their place. We have it not only in the report of Nicholas Sanders to Cardinal Morone, who had succeeded Pole as Protector of the English, but on the testimony of the chief reformers themselves. Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr—

28th April

“In the meantime there is everywhere a profound silence respecting schools and the encouragement of learning. This indeed, is driving out one devil, as they say, by another.”

And in a letter to Bullinger a few weeks later he deplores the state of things from the reformer's point of view—

“Our universities are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us, and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit, that they can do nothing.

“That despicable friar Soto and another Spanish monk, I know not who, have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord to a wilderness. You could scarcely believe so much desolation could have been effected in so short a time.”¹

Parkhurst, at the same time, actually dissuaded Henry Bullinger from his expressed intention of sending his son Rudolph to Oxford—

“For it is as yet a den of thieves, and of those who hate the light. There are but few Gospellers there, and many Papists. But when it will have been reformed, which we both hope and desire may ere long be the case, let your Rudolph at length come over.”²

In June, 1559, the Royal Commissioners arrived at Oxford to undo the work of Cardinal Pole, and to tender the oath of supremacy. Then the history of the visitations of Edward VI repeated itself, although the material havoc was of necessity

¹ *Zürich Letters*, p. 20, No. 7 (*ibid.*, i, 14).

² *Zürich Letters*, p. 29, No. 12.

less, there being fewer things left to destroy. We know from ¹⁵⁵⁹ Sanders that at Cambridge—

“There withdrew from the single College of Trinity sixteen priests, some of whom went over the sea; others went to their friends, and many other learned men withdrew from other colleges.”

Of Oxford, he reports—

“On the Visitors going to the Colleges severally, they did not obtain oath or subscription from one in twenty. . . . Fourteen have crossed the sea from this college [New], and many others besides have left, who were unable or unwilling to cross the sea. Lastly, out of a hundred persons who belonged to the choir, never yet have even ten been induced to receive the schismatical communion at Easter.”¹

Sanders' report is dated 1561, and is strikingly corroborated by Jewel, now Bishop of Salisbury, who wrote the same year to Peter Martyr—

“In the meantime, our Universities, and more especially Oxford, are most sadly deserted; without learning, without lectures, without any regard to religion.”²

And if we turn to Strype, we find him admitting—

“The Universities were now so much infected with the late popish leaven, that but few came up from thence, to receive Orders from the hands of Protestant Bishops.”³

Wood, in his *Annals* [*ad an* 1561] is more explicit. He states that in 1560—

“Was none in divinity, and but one in civil law, three in physic, and eight in arts; and in the act of this year (1561) not one in divinity, law or physic. The students also were so poor and beggarly that many of them were forced, this, or the year following, to obtain licence under the Commissary's seal, to acquire the alms of well-disposed persons.”

For ten years the resistance was partially successful, and was accompanied by frequent disturbances; for the undercurrent was as strong in the students as in the professors. This was

¹ Sanders' Report: *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i, pp. 43, 44.

² *Zürich Letters*, p. 77, No. 33.

³ *Life of Grindal*, p. 7.

1559

especially the case at Oxford, where the troubles arose almost entirely from the fact that the Conservative element remained so strong ; whereas at Cambridge, as Birt points out, the disturbances were caused by the intemperate zeal of Reformers anxious to force the pace.¹

1560-61

Writing of New College, Oxford, Dr. Rashdall remarks—

“ That such a nest of crypto-Papists should have been allowed to remain undisturbed for so many years, is a curious instance of the precarious and transitional state of Church affairs in these years.”²

So it was in the other colleges, Exeter and Gloucester Hall especially ; and it was not until the second and severer Visitation of 1570, that resistance became hopeless, and the great exodus had set in a regular stream across the seas, carrying, in Allen’s own words, the “ flower of the two Universities ” into exile.

1561

Vii. *Alani*

Of Oriel College we know little, save the significant fact that, in the year 1560, William Allen laid down his office of Principal of St. Mary Hall. It was not, however, until the following year that he found it impossible to remain at Oxford.³ Even

¹ Birt : *Settlement of Religion under Elizabeth*, p. 256.

² College History Series : *History of New College*, p. 114.

³ How complete was the desolation of the colleges, we can gather from Wood’s *Annals*. He gives a list of seventeen heads of colleges and chief persons who, in 1559, either resigned or were removed. These included Richard Marshall, Dean of Christ Church ; the Provosts of Merton, Balliol, etc. John Smyth of Oriel, “ being a moderate man, was suffered to keep his headship the longer, but was deprived of his place as Margaret Professor.” [He remained until 1565] *Annals*, i, 142. In 1563, says Wood [*Annals*, i, 152], preachers were so rare, “ that there were but two in the University that preached on the Lord’s Day (yet not constantly). . . . Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalen.” In 1561, the same authority tells us, “ there was but one constant preacher in Oxon, and he only a Bachelor of All Souls’ College.” [Probably Andrew Kingsmyll, elected Fellow of All Souls in 1558.] Queen Elizabeth’s Commissioners in 1559 were Dr. Richard Cox, now Bishop of Ely ; John, Lord Williams of Thame ; Sir John Mason, who had succeeded the Earl of Arundel (resigned) as Chancellor of Oxford ; William Kingsmyll ; and five others. Dodd, in his *Church History*, gives what he styles “ an imperfect catalogue ” of twenty-five heads of colleges in the two universities, and thirty-seven Fellows of Oxford who resisted the Reformation [vol. ii, pp. 318, 319].

then, as Fitzherbert tells us, it was his untiring zeal in encouraging the timid to steadfastness, and giving counsel to the doubtful to stand firm against heretical attacks, which so incensed the authorities, that his departure became inevitable. In the course, therefore, of the year 1561, he left Oxford and England, and made his way to Louvain in Flanders; being then in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and having spent fourteen years at Oriel College.

CHAPTER III

1359

BEFORE we follow William Allen into Flanders, it is necessary to glance at the circumstances which attended the actual rupture between Elizabeth and the Holy See. A fable—which passed currency for nearly three centuries as a fact—throws the blame of breaking off negotiations between Rome and England upon the aged pontiff, Paul IV. The story runs that Sir Edward Carne, for the past four years resident English ambassador in Rome, was ordered by Elizabeth to announce her accession to the Pope; that, in reply, Paul IV demurred at the claim of hereditary right in one who was not born in lawful wedlock; remarked that the crown of England was claimed by the Queen of Scots, and concluded that, if Elizabeth would submit the controversy to his arbitration, she would receive every indulgence which justice would allow. In very self-defence, the new Queen would have been driven to a breach with Rome, had such a conversation ever taken place.

But there is no tittle of evidence in its favour in any document or state paper of the time, either English or foreign. On the contrary, not only, as we have seen, the proposal to send a special messenger to the Pope was rescinded on the first day of the new reign, but Carne was never re-accredited as ambassador to the Holy See. The only communication made to him before his order of recall in the following February, was an order from the Privy Council [1st December, 1558] forbidding him to proceed further in some business concerning a matrimonial suit, with which he had been charged in the preceding reign. His own letters to Cecil of the 9th and 11th February were followed by an important despatch to the Queen herself, dated 16th February, 1559, showing that the Pope had nothing but kindly feelings towards her. "The French," he tells her—

"Can obtain nothing at his Holiness' hands against your Majesty: his Holiness hath such respect to your Majesty and to your realms, that he will attempt nothing against your realms, unless the occasion be given first thence, as I am credibly informed. One of the Cardinals that is greatest with his Holiness, showed me that

Acts P.C.,
VII, p. 11

he and others do mind to move his Holiness to send his nuncio to your Majesty thither, but that they stay till your Majesty do send hither first. . . . Whereof I thought good to advertise your Majesty."

This despatch (which has been wrongly calendered in the "Hatfield Papers," as written in 1560 n.s.) shows, not only that Paul IV had turned a deaf ear to the representations of the French, and that he was ready to acknowledge Elizabeth as Queen of England, whenever she should observe the formality of notifying her accession to him ; but that, three months after her accession, no such notification had been made. "The discourteous withholding of this customary formality," says Birt—

"Was the first indication that opened the eyes of the Court of Rome to the possibility of the renewal of the schism of Henry VIII. . . . Carne, writing from Rome, 1st April, 1559, made it plain that the Curia was growing restive under the hostile attitude Elizabeth was assuming, and at the evident trend of the religious policy of the Queen and her ministers."¹

*Cotton MS.,
Galba B.,
VI, No. 5,
p. 9*

Strype tells us that Sir Edward Carne "abode privately" in Rome, until his recall in February, when the Pope "ordered him to remain in Rome, and take upon him the English Hospital near St. Jerome's Church."² This prohibition to leave Rome was secured by Carne himself, whose destination would in all likelihood have been the Tower, had he returned to England and refused to take the oath of supremacy.

On what grounds Sarpi, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, first gave the fictitious story of Elizabeth's message and the Pope's answer, we know not. It suffices to say that the *History* was printed in London in 1610, that Sarpi maintained correspondence with Bacon and Gilbert, and that he was the avowed enemy of the papal authority in secular matters.³

¹ *The Settlement of Religion under Elizabeth*, p. 9.

² Strype, *Annals*, i, p. 35.

³ Sarpi, Fra Paolo [1552-1623], Venetian patriot, scholar, and Church reformer, was a Servite monk. He was appointed theologian to the Republic of Venice, and wrote several controversial works, one or two of which were placed on the Index. His *History* was published in London under the name of Pietro Soave, Polano, an anagram of Paolo Sarpi, Veneto.

1559-60

Although Cardinal Pallavicino's subsequent *History of the Council of Trent*, published in 1656-57, was written chiefly to correct Sarpi's work, he appears to have accepted the story without inquiry or hesitation.¹ Other foreign writers did the same, and the fable chimed too well with the pre-conceptions of English historians, not to have been accepted by them with avidity.

Misled by the authority and weight of Pallavicino, even so careful and scrupulous a scholar as Lingard, admitted it into the earlier editions of his *History of England*, and then apologetically withdrew it in the later ones, furnishing proofs of its falsehood. The first two historians may have been induced to give too easy credence to the story, by their knowledge of Paul IV's arbitrary and inconsiderate treatment of the late Queen of England, two years previously; when he had allowed his enmity to King Philip to influence his conduct towards that much-tried Queen; when he revoked Cardinal Pole's legation and summoned him to Rome, despite Mary's passionate remonstrances, and the petition of the whole of her Council. Conduct so uncompromising towards the most faithful daughter of the Church, might augur badly of the Pope's diplomacy towards her successor. As we shall see, it was only to bear fruit later; and Paul IV's attitude towards Elizabeth at her accession was one of friendliness and good-will.

William Allen made his way to Louvain, where he found a large colony of Englishmen, with many women and children, who had preceded him in their flight from the oath of supremacy and the new penal laws. Among them were many of his Oxford friends, especially Dr. Thomas Harding, *facile princeps* among controversialists, who had taken his M.A. degree with Allen, seven years previously. The stream of exiles was

¹ Pallavicino, Pietro Sforza [1607-1667], cardinal and historian, born at Parma, son of the Marquis Alessandro Pallavicino of Parma. He published his *History of the Council of Trent* in two volumes in 1656-57, and a second edition, considerably modified, in 1666. Ranke submitted both histories to minute criticism, and acquitted their authors of deliberate falsification.

flowing into Italy, France and Spain ; but by far the greater number chose Flanders and the Netherlands for a sojourn—which they trusted would not be of very long duration—where they were nearer home, and under the rule of Philip II, whom, in Mary's reign, they had been accustomed to regard as their sovereign. At Louvain, the priests and professors had already, in true English fashion, established themselves in two large houses, one of which they called Oxford, and the other Cambridge ;¹ and they had set to work at once with their pens in defence of the cause which they held dear, and in protest against the arbitrary measures dealt out to them, and to the vast majority of their countrymen at home. Louvain was a famous University town : there was every facility for the printing of books, which were purposely written in English instead of in Latin, so as to reach the vulgar ; and which could be smuggled over in large quantities owing to the continual commerce between the two countries. 1560-1

Allen's talents and zeal recommended him to his countrymen ; despite his youth, his superiority was recognised by all, and men were won by the singular charm of his personality and gentle dignity of manner. He continued his theological studies, and began to compose the first draft of a treatise on Purgatory, which he was to publish some years later at Antwerp. Like the vast majority of the exiles, he must have found it difficult to live, for Fitzherbert tells us that he at once accepted the tutorship of a young Englishman, the scion of a noble house. This was Christopher Blount, a younger son of Lord Mountjoy, the date of whose birth is generally given as 1565, on the presumption that he was a son of James, sixth Baron Mountjoy. Vit. Alani

If Allen's pupil is to be identified with him, Christopher Blount must have been the youngest, probably posthumous son of Charles, fifth Lord Mountjoy, who died in 1545, having commanded at Calais the previous year. This would make young Blount fifteen or sixteen years old when he was Allen's pupil, and forty-two instead of twenty-three, at the time of

¹ Maziere Brady : *Episcopal Succession*, iii, p. 56.

1561

his knighthood by Lord Willoughby when serving in the Netherlands in 1587-88. The position he held there was more compatible with the older date, as was also the fact of his marriage the following year with that much-married lady, Lettice, eldest daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G., whose first husband had been Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, and her second, no less a personage than Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester [d. 1588]. At the time of her marriage with Sir Christopher Blount, Lady Leicester was forty-nine years of age.

The Mountjoys were staunch to the old religion; the fifth lord had been in the service of Queen Katherine of Arragon, and his eldest son was made commander of the Bath at the coronation of Queen Mary. It was, therefore, natural that Lady Mountjoy should send her son into Flanders for his education.

1561-62

Allen's training was not to be lost upon young Blount, however it might be obscured during his sojourn at the Court of Elizabeth.¹ His marriage made him step-father to the well-known Earl of Essex, whom he followed into Ireland during the viceroyalty of the latter. There he was wounded, after defeating the rebels at Leix, near Dublin, in 1598-9, and during his illness he returned to the bosom of the Church. Two years later, he died on the scaffold for his share in his step-son's rebellion, after converting his fellow-prisoner, Sir John Davis; and fervently proclaiming that he died a Catholic.

Vit. Alani,
p. 60

Blount's chequered career was nigh being nipped in the bud by a dangerous illness, with which he was afflicted while under Allen's charge at Louvain in 1561-62. It is described by Fitzherbert as an atrophy, or perishing away of his body, which grew rapidly thinner and thinner. Allen's assiduous care of his pupil, together with his constant application to study, told upon his own health; he contracted the same wasting disease, and was reduced to such a condition that his

¹ Christopher Blount appears to have matriculated at Douay University in 1575. *Douay Diaries*, Appendix, p. 277.

life was endangered, and the physicians advised him to try his ¹⁵⁶²⁻³ native air as the only means of saving his life.

In the then state of affairs at home, the remedy may have appeared little less dangerous than the disease; and it was secretly, and in disguise, enfeebled with illness, that Allen made his way back to England, and arrived in Lancashire some time before the winter of the year 1562, there to "hide ¹⁵⁶² among his own people," says Fitzherbert, after a year's absence at Louvain.

The change of scene to his sea-bound birthplace, and the salty breezes from the Atlantic quickly restored William Allen's health, and he was soon hard at work, carrying on, as at Oxford, his constant efforts to counteract the effects of the legislative alteration of religion. He was still a layman, and moreover, the avowed, or secret sympathy of all men in that country-side was with him, enabling him to move about, unostentatiously but freely, among his neighbours. He divided his time chiefly between Rossall Grange itself, where his father was still living,¹ Cottam Hall, the seat of his connection and dear friend Vivian Haydock, and the ancient fortified manor-house of Hoghton. There, another of his intimate friends, Thomas Hoghton, was even then extensively adding, replacing the old house by the stately fabric of the present Hoghton Tower, which took three years a-building—from 1562 to 1565—and at its festal opening in the latter year, Allen is known to have been present. It was probably the last occasion on which he took part in the banquetings and lavish entertainment of rich and poor, of friends and neighbours, so characteristic of the great territorial lords of England in those days. The lord of Hoghton was a representative type, and in the ballad written by his faithful butler, Roger Anderton, who followed him to exile, he says of himself—

"Att Hoghton, where I used to reste,
Of men I hadd great store,
Full twentie gentlemen at least,
Of yeomen gode three score.

¹ John Allen died in 1566 or 1567.

1562

And of them all, I brought but twoe
 Wyth me, when I cam thence ;
 I left them, all the worlde knows how
 To kepe my consyence.”¹

1563

John Westby, of Mowbreck Hall, Mrs. George Allen’s brother, made a fourth in the small group of friends who were now consulting daily, in anxiety and sorrow, over the troubles which had come upon their country.²

The new laws had been in force for three years when Allen returned to Lancashire ; the churches throughout the county were either closed, or given over to the new service. Among the former was the Allens’ parish Church of All Hallows, Bispham, where, according to Fishwick, for nearly half-a-century “we do not find even the tradition of a curate of Bispham.”³ Jerome Allen, probably a relation of the Allens of Rossall, is given as the last Catholic curate of Bispham. He celebrated Mass for the last time at nine o’clock on the 25th March, 1559-60, and then with tears bade farewell to his people.

Nearly the whole of the superior clergy had followed the example of their bishops, and were either in prison or in exile : to them must be added the very large number of “old priests,” as they soon began to be called, who were imprisoned or went abroad : who were received into the houses of the great nobles and other gentlemen as extra chaplains, or,

¹ *Haydock Papers*, p. 13 : Joseph Gillow. Other houses in which Allen is known to have stayed during this, his last visit to Lancashire, were Salesbury Hall, the seat of John Talbot, Osbaldeston Hall, that of Edward Osbaldeston, and in other ancient houses of the valley of the Ribble : the first two were in the parish of Blackburn.

² In 1568, John Westby was carried to Chester, to be kept under surveillance as one of the more “obstinate” of the recusants. Downham, Bishop of Chester, wrote to Cecil, 1st November, 1568, that no impression could be made upon him. *Dom. Eliz.*, xlviii, 36. *Haydock Papers*, pp. 7, 8 : Joseph Gillow.

In the following year, Thomas Hoghton sailed secretly from his seat, The Lea, by the Ribble, for Antwerp, as is related in Anderton’s ballad, *The Blessed Conscience*, which long continued to be sung as a lament in Lancashire.

³ *History of Parish of Bispham*, p. 46 : H. Fishwick, Chetham Society, 1887.

having friends at Court, were suffered to live unmolested in ¹⁵⁶³ retirement. Many returned to their families, and, when the Count, afterwards Duke, of Feria, went back to Spain in 1559 he took in his train a large number of English priests, for whom he and King Philip II undertook to provide.¹

Apart from these, there remained a considerable residuum, ¹⁵⁶¹⁻² including not a few canons of cathedral and collegiate churches, and many of the lower clergy who, from various motives, not the least of which was the dread of losing their means of livelihood, elected to bow before the storm; some of those who had conformed under Edward VI, and then under Mary, perhaps experiencing no great difficulty in conforming again. To these must be added the three to four hundred gospellers from Frankfort and other places abroad, who had hastened back to England immediately upon the news of the accession of Elizabeth, and the large number of laymen, to whom the Queen granted licence to preach. Even then, it was a matter of difficulty to get sufficient ministers for the new service. Thomas Lever wrote to Bullinger, 10th July, 1560—

“Many of our parishes have no clergyman, and some dioceses are without a bishop. And out of that very small number who administer the sacraments throughout this great country, there is hardly one in a hundred who is both able and willing to preach the word of God.”²

Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, makes the same complaint in a letter to Peter Martyr, 6th November of the same year—

“We are only wanting in preachers, and of these there is a great and alarming scarcity. The schools are entirely deserted.”³

We have the same report from the North of England. In an interesting letter to Cecil, dated from Rose Castle, 14th January, 1561, John Best, Bishop of Carlisle, declares that he has not been slack in his duty, yet his “painful travail taketh less effect” than his zeal desireth—

¹ Feria had married Jane, sister of the first Lord Dormer. She went to Spain with her husband, and was the great support of the exiled Catholics.

² *Zürich Letters*, 1st Series, No. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 38.

1561-2

"First, there is such rumours by evil-disposed papists . . . secretly whispered in every corner, that, every day, men look for a change, and prepare for the same. The people, desirous of the same, do in manner openly say and do what they will, concerning religion and other matters . . . without check or punishment. The rulers and justices of peace wink at all things, and look through their fingers. For my exhortations to have such punished, I have had privy displeasure. . . . Such men as these are not only supported and borne withal, but also had in place of counsellor and brought into open place. Whereby those of evil religion are encouraged to be stubborn. . . .

"I, for my part, dare not say it is wrong, nor any other that I know: for, though I am bold to utter unto you such matter . . . yet here I open no such thing to any man, well pondering the danger thereof. . . . Indeed, so long as the high authority is in his hands that now hath it, God's glorious gospel cannot take place here. . . . If your honour were present, to see the rule of Cumberland and Westmoreland under the two heads thereof, I believe it would cause you weep. . . . If I durst say it as reported, the greatest are worst."¹

That the stubbornness against the new order of things was prevalent in all parts, and lasted into the following year, we see by a letter from Robert Horn, Bishop of Winchester, to Cecil on 1st January, 1562, in which he complains that the Book of Common Prayer is not yet established in his diocese. Such is the dearth of ministers that some of the churches must be united—

"Without which I see no way how to have them well served, but that they shall continue to be further nozled in superstition and popery."

The Bishop sends his Chancellor, D. Acworth, to obtain the Queen's licence for uniting parishes, and concludes—

"The inhabitants are very stubborn . . . some of them have boasted and vaunted that, do what I can, I shall not have this my purpose. . . . I mean to proceed to enforcement."²

¹ P.R.O.: Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. cccxix. The two great men of whom the Bishop complained were probably Henry de Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland [*d.* 1570], and Gregory Fiennes, tenth Baron Dacre [1539-1594]. Bishop Grindal asked Cecil in 1563 that they might be "touched by the authority of the Privy Council" as "a terror to the rest."

² *Ibid.*, p. cccxviii.

We may compare the above accounts with one written a few years later by one of the other side. Edward Rishton, B.A., of Oxford, and a missionary priest of Douay seminary, upon his release from the Tower, after four years' incarceration, went to Rheims, and there wrote a continuation of Sanders' *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*.¹

Rishton, who left Oxford and England for the first time in 1573, was therefore an eye-witness of the beginning and progress of the reformation under Elizabeth. This is his account of the different parties:—After remarking upon the fact that the repugnance of the peers to the Oath of Supremacy had induced the Queen, "and this helped her exceedingly," to exempt them absolutely from taking it, he says—

"Of the three parties into which Englishmen might be divided, one party was at that time not so very much given to heresy; it neither desired the change of religion, nor approved of it after it was made, and it liked it still less afterwards when it had tasted of its fruits. For beside the very large number of the nobility, of which I have spoken before, the greater part of the country gentlemen was unmistakably Catholic; so also were the farmers throughout the kingdom, and . . . they were an honourable and wealthy people. They all hated the heresy.

"Not a single county except those near London and the court, and scarcely any towns except those on the sea-coast, willingly accepted the heresy; and even in those places the heretics were the lazy and the luxurious young men, bankrupts and spendthrifts, women laden with sins, and people of that kind."

To understand the full meaning of the Bishop of Winchester's threat to "proceed to enforcement," we must read the terms of the two Acts passed in Elizabeth's first Parliament for the establishment of the new worship. In what regarded the clergy, the refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy entailed the

¹ Rishton, Edward [1550–1585], born in Lancashire, graduated at Brasenose in 1572, and withdrew to Douay the following year. He was sent on the English mission in 1580 and, after suffering four years' imprisonment in the Tower, was included in a party of twenty-one "massing priests" shipped from the Tower-wharf on the 21st January, 1584-5, and landed in France. He went to Rheims, and thence to the University of Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine, where he caught the plague, and died near St. Ménéhould, 30th June, 1585.

1563

forfeiture of all ecclesiastical and temporal preferment. The refusal to read the new service in the Common Prayer Book, was punishable—for the first offence—by six months' imprisonment and the loss of one year's profits of all spiritual preferments. The second offence brought deprivation and a year's imprisonment: the third, deprivation and imprisonment for life.

As for the clergy and laity alike, the maintaining of the Pope's supremacy meant the forfeiture of all goods and chattels, and a year's imprisonment. The second offence incurred a *praemunire*; the third was high treason with the penalty of death.

The laity were bound to attend the new service every Sunday and holiday, under a fine of twelvecpence (equal to about 10s. of the present currency). Hearing Mass, or procuring a priest to say Mass meant six months' imprisonment for the first offence, with a fine of 100 marks (equal to £75 to-day). The second offence entailed a penalty of 400 marks, and a year in gaol; the third, forfeiture of all goods and chattels, and imprisonment for life.

John Jewel was pleased to make merry over these enactments, writing to Peter Martyr from London on the 5th March, 1560, that the Catholics had no right to complain—

"For the Mass has never been so highly-prized within my memory; each being now valued, to every individual spectator, at not less than 200 crowns."¹

1561-63

When machinery like this was set in motion, when the Queen made visitation of the churches to see that the new laws were enforced, and her commissioners were despatched into every province to deprive the old priests, and to put into their places men who would conform to the new religion, it is not to be wondered at, that both priests and laity should have devised the expedient of sheltering themselves under "occasional conformity." The latter saved their estates and their liberty by appearing from time to time at the parish church, on the score that they were no longer free agents but acting

¹ *Zürich Letters*, 1st Series, No. 30.

under coercion, and laying what guilt there might be at the door of the Queen and the legislature; while many priests said Mass in private, and then consented to repair to the church, and there read the service from the Book of Common Prayer. Both priests and people persuaded themselves, as William Allen wrote several years later—

“That it was enough to hold the faith interiorly while obeying the sovereign in externals, especially in the singing of psalms and parts of scripture in the vulgar tongue, a thing which seemed to them indifferent, and, in persons otherwise virtuous, worthy of toleration on account of the terrible rigour of the laws.”¹

The question was submitted to the Pope. Paul IV had died in 1559, and been succeeded by Cardinal Giovanni de Medici, who took the title of Pius IV. One of the first acts of the new pontiff was to re-assemble the Council of Trent, which had been interrupted during the reign of his predecessor, and the question of occasional conformity was also referred to the fathers of the Council, who appointed a small commission for its consideration. The answer arrived in England at about this time, and was the same from Council and from Pope—*non licet*—there could be no compromise with heresy, no union nor alliance, though it were but a feint and transitory, or coerced by *force majeure*, between the ancient Church and the sect of the day. *Non licet*; words of strong cordial to the prisoners and the exiles, and all those who had taken their stand upon recusancy, exalting their resistance to heroic endurance: words of stern counsel to the doubtful, and keen as a dividing sword: words of dismay to the timid and the helpless, driving them, like frightened sheep, into the new fold prepared for them by the Queen and her ministers.²

When Allen arrived in Lancashire he was dismayed to find how the practice of occasional conformity was spreading:

¹ Allen to Vendeville, 16th September, 1580: *Knox*, vol. i, Introduction, p. xxiii.

² “The prisons in London in which the Catholics were immured were, besides the Tower, the Gatehouse in Westminster, the Fleet, Newgate, Bridewell, the two Compters, the King’s Bench, the Marshalsea, the White Lion, and the Clink.” *Rishton’s Continuation of Sanders’ Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*. Lewis’s translation.

1561-3

to find that "not only laymen, who believed the Faith in their hearts, and heard Mass when they could, frequented the schismatical churches . . . but many priests said Mass privately and celebrated the heretical offices and Supper in public."¹

Other contemporary writers bear witness to the same facts : thus Rishton tells us—

"And thus by force or fraud it came to pass that the largest portion of the Catholics yielded by degrees to their enemies, and did not refuse from time to time publicly to enter the schismatical churches, to hear sermons therein and to receive communion in those conventicles.

"At the same time they had Mass said secretly in their own houses by those very priests, who in church publicly celebrated the spurious liturgy ; and sometimes by others who had not defiled themselves with heresy ; yea, and very often, in those disastrous times, were on one and the same day partakers . . . of the Blessed Eucharist and the Calvinistic Supper. Yea, what is still more marvellous and more sad, sometimes the priest saying mass at home for the sake of those Catholics whom he knew to be desirous of them, carried about him Hosts consecrated according to the rites of the Church, with which he communicated them at the very time in which he was giving to other Catholics more careless about the faith, the bread prepared for them according to the heretical rite.

1562

"I write this, that other nations, made wise by the things they see among us, may learn how heresies begin and grow, and be on their guard against pestilences of this kind. Meanwhile the Queen and her ministers considered themselves most fortunate in that those who cling to the ancient faith, though so numerous, publicly accepted, or by their presence outwardly sanctioned, in some way, the new rites which they had prescribed. They did not care so much about the inward belief of these men, or if they did, they thought it best to dissemble."²

Pollini, who wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica della Religione d'Inghilterra*, in 1594, and dedicated the work to Cardinal Allen, from whom he had received many items of information, tells the same tale in almost the same words.³

¹ Allen to Vendeville, 16th September, 1580 : *Knox*. vol. i, p. xxiii.

² *Rishton*, pp. 267, 268.

³ F. G. Pollini, of the Order of Friar Preachers. His history was published in Rome in 1594. He says of Allen : "He in whom it appears that Almighty God willed to renew the holy memory of Cardinal Reginald Pole."

With characteristic energy, and the extraordinarily persuasive influence which remained with him to the end of his days, Allen set to work to combat the fast-spreading fallacy that occasional conformity might be tolerated. Here in his own county, as at Oxford and at Louvain, his superiority of intellect and strength of soul were at once acknowledged, and he was listened to as one speaking and rebuking with authority. His success in the difficult task of persuading men to risk their all for conscience' sake is the more remarkable that he was not yet in orders, that neither through the pulpit nor the confessional could he reach the hearts of the people. He went from one country-house to another; he went "even vehemently," writes Fitzherbert, "to exhort at various meetings, and enforce with many arguments" the impossibility of remaining in the communion of the Catholic Church and conforming outwardly to the Established Church. Supported by the two recent decrees of Pius IV and the Council of Trent, he wrote a treatise which he circulated in MS., and which was printed two years later abroad, under the title *Certain Brief Reasons concerning Catholic Faith*, wherein, as well as in his conversations with all manner of people, he demonstrated, as he wrote to Vendeville, "by irrefragable notes and tokens the authority of the Church and the Apostolic See—

Viz. Alani,
p. 61

1562-63

"Hence it was brought about in a very short time that a vast number of our countrymen not only came to hold right views about religion, but abstained altogether from the communion, churches, sermons, books, and all spiritual communication with heretics; a most difficult thing to obtain in that country, because of the iniquitous laws, and the punishment of imprisonment, as well as other penalties, which it entails. . . .

Knox I,
p. xxiv

"With persevering diligence, we so completely overcame this difficulty that no one is any longer regarded as a genuine Catholic, capable of absolution, who does not altogether refrain from every appearance of evil in regard to communication with heretics."

Such results could not escape the notice—nor the wrath—of the authorities; and Allen's position in Lancashire becoming

1562-3 untenable, he was compelled to retire into Oxfordshire.¹ He had spent two years in the county, and had so stiffened the resolution of its people, that for three centuries to come—through persecution and disabilities—it was to remain, in common parlance, “a hot-bed of popery.” Of all Allen’s life-long labours, this was, perhaps, the most notable, and the most lasting in its effects. Not only did the Catholics of Lancashire remain staunch to the allegiance to which they had returned, but they were to prove themselves the chief supporters in England of the seminaries founded by Allen abroad: their county was the nursery from which a large proportion of his disciples and helpers were to be drawn. Chief among the latter was his old and intimate friend Vivian Haydock, who confided to him his intention, as soon as his eldest son, William, should be old enough to take his place as Master of Cottam Hall, to devote himself to the priesthood, and to spend the rest of his life and energies in labouring for the preservation of the Church in England.

1565 The change in the attitude of the people is noted by Strype: writing of the state of things in 1567, two years after Allen’s departure, he informs us that—

“Religion in Lancashire and the parts thereabouts, went backwards, papists about this time showing themselves to be numerous, Mass commonly said, priests harboured, the Book of Common Prayer and the church established by law laid aside, many churches shut up and cures unsupplied, unless with such popish priests as had been ejected.”

¹ It was against their own inclinations that Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby [1508–1572] and William Downham, first protestant Bishop of Chester [1505–1577] enforced the new laws in Lancashire. The first had protested in the House of Lords against the change of religion under Edward VI, had been one of the firmest adherents of Mary; and though he had accepted the office of commissioner for ecclesiastical causes in the diocese of Chester in 1562, his well-known sympathy for the old religion rendered him an object of suspicion to Elizabeth. Bishop Downham also disappointed the Queen, and drew down upon himself her stern rebuke by his remissness in enforcing the Act of Uniformity. Complaints were lodged against him before the Council in 1561, the first year of his episcopacy, and again in 1570. Appointed with Lord Derby in 1562 to put down recusancy, it seems plain that the efforts of both men—so far as they dared—tended rather to protect the priests and the people than to prosecute them.

It is not recorded in what part of Oxfordshire, nor in whose ¹⁵⁶⁵ house Allen took refuge; he probably moved secretly from one nobleman's or gentleman's country seat to another, zealously continuing the propaganda he had begun in his native county, and converting "not a few," says Fitzherbert. He wrote two controversial treatises on the Priesthood and on Indulgences, which he published later at Louvain, and which were probably, as was the case with his *Brief Reasons*, circulated in manuscript during his stay in England.

Although only four years had elapsed since his enforced <sup>*Vit. Alani,*
p. 62</sup> departure from Oxford, where he had been one of the best-known men in the town, Allen ventured to return there several times while staying in the neighbourhood, and made several conversions. This was not without peril, and we next find him taking shelter in Norfolk, in the family of the Duke of Norfolk, who, though himself a Protestant, true to the traditions of his race gave protection to several learned Catholics. ¹⁵⁶⁵ Needless to say, Allen continued his labours for souls in the duke's house and the neighbourhood, and here it was that he wrote the above-mentioned treatise on the notes of the Catholic faith—*Certain Brief Reasons Concerning Catholic Faith*. <sup>*Vit. Alani,*
p. 62</sup> The vigour with which it was written and the wide circulation it obtained, though still only in manuscript, stirred up such hostility against him, that he was advised to leave England.

While waiting for a ship, Allen ventured to pay a final visit <sup>*Pollini,*
p. 476</sup> to Oxford, which is the subject of a legend given by Fitzherbert, and repeated by Pollini, to whom it was probably authenticated by Cardinal Allen himself.

He had converted a young man, whom he had previously known, and thereby so incensed the youth's parents, that they determined to obtain his arrest; and the legend runs that a man who knew Allen perfectly well, and who had undertaken to find him out and denounce him to the justices, accidentally met him, and sat opposite to him at dinner—probably in a tavern—and, either struck with compassion, or that his eyes were providentially held from recognising him, suffered him to depart unmolested. This is the first record of Allen's several escapes from capture or death.

CHAPTER IV

1563-5

5 Eliz.,
Cap. 1

THE literary activity of the exiles, the number of controversial treatises and books which poured into England from Flanders and the Netherlands, and the influence they exercised did not escape the attention of the legislature. An Act was passed in the Parliament of 1563 against maintaining the Pope's authority, by which the printing, importing, publishing or dispersing of such books was made punishable—on a first conviction—by a *praemunire*, and on a second offence, by death for high treason.¹

It is not without interest to note how these matters were regarded abroad. There had been so many religious changes in England during the past thirty years, that foreigners generally were doubtless confirmed in their opinion that Englishmen were "constant only in inconstancy"; and that another turn of the wheel might soon be expected. Of this number, according to Wood, was Peter Martyr himself, who was now established as Hebrew professor at Zürich University. In 1561—

Athenae,
Vol. I,
c. 329

"Queen Elizabeth invited him to return to England, and there accept of what preferment he pleased, but he, fearing another mutation, modestly refused it."

The invitation had been made through the Earl of Bedford, and was refused by Martyr on the score of age and weakness, and the dangers of the journey.²

As for the Head of the Church thus maltreated, Pius IV had

¹ The judgment in a *praemunire* was to be out of the King's protection: lands, tenements, goods, and chattels forfeited to the King (entailed lands but for life), and perpetual imprisonment. In commenting upon this Act, a legal writer of the eighteenth century, states: "If a man hears Mass but once in his life-time, upon a second refusal of this Oath [of Supremacy] he shall be adjudged guilty of High Treason." *The Penal Laws against Papists and Popish Recusants*, p. 8: Printed by G. and R. Nutt . . . for R. Gosling, at the Middle Temple Gate, in Fleet Street—MDCCXXIII.

² Strype's *Annals*, Chap. XXI, p. 243.

begun his reign by holding out the hand of friendship to the ¹⁵⁶⁰⁻⁵ Queen of England. Nothing could have been more courteous, nor at the same time more fatherly than the letter he addressed to her, 5th May, 1560, as his "most dear daughter, Elizabeth, Queen of England," accrediting his envoy, Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, "a man well known to you."¹ The Pope exhorts the Queen to reject "evil counsellors, which love you not, but themselves, and serve their own lusts." After advising her to take the fear of God into counsel, and to show herself obedient to his, the Pope's, fatherly persuasions, he approaches the delicate point of the right to the throne, telling her whom he had addressed as "Queen of England," that she may promise herself from him—

"All things that may make not only to the salvation of your soul, but also whatever you shall desire from us, for the establishing and confirming of your princely dignity; according to the authority, place, and office, committed to us by God. . . . We shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honour, and rejoicing, that the father in the gospel did to his son returning to him; although our joy is like to be the greater, in that he was joyful for the salvation of one son, but you, drawing along with you all the people of England, shall hear us and the whole company of our brethren . . . fill the universal Church with rejoicing and gladness; yea, you shall make glad heaven itself with such a memorable act, and achieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the crown you wear."²

The anxiety of the Pope for the success of this mission is plain from the instructions sent from the Vatican to the Bishop of Terracina, nuncio to the King of Spain, 4th May, 1560: his Holiness had sent autograph letters to the Emperor and the King of France, as well as to Philip II and to the Governess of the Low Countries, to obtain their good offices with the Queen of England; and Terracina is ordered to make further instances to the King, and to persuade him to instruct

P.R.O.,
Roman
Transcripts

¹ Parpaglia had been Cardinal Pole's vice-legate at Viterbo, his envoy to the Emperor Charles V, and his agent in more than one important negotiation. He had accompanied Pole to England, where he had remained several years, well known and esteemed at Court.

² Printed in *Camden's Annals*, p. 47.

1560-5

his ambassador in England to do his utmost to further so holy an enterprise, and to get a good reception for Parpaglia. The Pope has already given him the money for his journey, "being in such a hurry to get him off," writes the Cardinal Secretary, "that I believe he will start to-morrow." All the Pope's pains were fruitless: Parpaglia reached Flanders, but was refused permission to come to England.

1560
P.R.O.,
Vat.
Transcripts

Another mission had been confided by Pius IV to Parpaglia, that of carrying succour to the exiles in Flanders. The Pope had already sent a list of the bishops and persons of quality imprisoned in England, to his nuncio in Spain with orders to ask Philip II's good offices with the Queen of England for the release "of these poor prisoners," and also that he would make provision for the exiles in his dominions. Meanwhile the Pope is sending money for immediate necessities and until Philip can make his arrangements. There is a letter from Parpaglia to Cardinal Morone, protector of the English, stating what he has been doing for the exiles, with special mention of the sister of the Bishop of Rochester and her companions, who are in great distress in a very poor convent on the Isle of Zealand. As for the imprisoned prelates, Parpaglia has been able to convey to them how great are the Cardinal's efforts to alleviate their lot.¹

ibid.,
13 Oct.,
1560

1561-65

Vatican
Transcripts,
8th March

When the Council of Trent was being re-assembled in the following year, Pope Pius IV, made another attempt to come to terms with the Queen of England. He had determined to invite the Protestant princes to send their representatives to the Council, promising them safe conducts and full liberty of speech; and, "so as to omit nothing of his duty with regard to the Council," he sent Abbot Martinengo, his domestic prelate "to invite that Queen to the Council." This envoy fared no better than the previous one.

On the 1st May, a consultation was held at Greenwich by Sir William Cecil and other members of the Privy Council

"Upon a request, made to her Majesty by the King of Spain's Ambassador [Olvano di Quadra, Bishop of Aquila] that the Abbot

¹ The last Catholic Bishop of Rochester was Maurice Griffith, who died in November, 1559.

Martinengo, nuncio of the Pope, and arriving at Brussels might come into the realm, with letters from the Pope and other princes to the Queen's Majesty." 1561-65

The Queen's answer, conveyed through the Spanish ambassador, is thus summed up by Monsignore Commendone in a letter to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, President of the Council of Trent:¹ her refusal is based on three principal points. First, the invitation has not been sent (as to other princes) by direction of the Council. Second, the Council is not free, pious, Christian; if it were so, she would send pious and learned men to it in the name of the English Church. Third, that by these means the Pope incites the Catholics to sedition, and special complaint is made of an Irishman, sent to Ireland from Rome, to do similar offices. It is no novelty that a papal envoy has been refused admittance, and the Queen quotes her sister, Queen Mary, in the case of Peto's elevation to the Cardinalate. Vatican
Transcripts,
20th May

Elizabeth's refusal was doubtless a foregone conclusion: but we can imagine with what keen pleasure Cecil and his colleagues quoted, as a precedent, the Catholic Queen's refusal to suffer Pope Paul IV's messenger to come to England with the red hat for friar Peto, after that pontiff's unfortunate revocation of the legation of Cardinal Pole.

There was but one English prelate at the Council of Trent: 1561-5
Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, who had escaped from England in June, 1559, and made his way to Rome. His arrival at Trent is announced by the president of the Council, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, to Cardinal Borromeo at Rome,² with the comment that he "merits their loving and honourable reception, and that the expenses of his entertainment shall be defrayed." Vatican
Transcripts,
16th June

Commendone, lately created a Cardinal, also refers to Goldwell in a letter from Brussels to Cardinal Gonzaga: he is *ibid.*,
18th Oct.

¹ Commendone was also at Brussels, awaiting an answer from the King of Denmark, to whom he was charged with a similar mission from the Pope.

² This was the celebrated Cardinal Borromeo, afterwards canonized as St. Charles Borromeo, at that time Secretary of State to the Pope.

1561-5

glad to learn of his safe arrival, especially as the Queen of England has been asking if he was at Trent—

“No doubt she will be greatly annoyed to hear that an English prelate is at the Council, the more so that he is a man of most exemplary life, and most constant in religion.”

Vatican
Transcripts,
30th Nov.,
1561

William Allen was one of the English refugees at Louvain, of whom Commendone writes in the following letter to Cardinal Borromeo—

“I saw many of those Englishmen at Louvain, and every day there were fresh arrivals: some having obtained licence to depart, others who had fled secretly abandoning all their possessions; they all entreated me to ask for the blessing of the Holy Father, especially the lady mother [Lady Dormer] of the Countess of Feria. . . . It is truly worthy of compassion to see all those poor English so afflicted; and yet, in that same compassion there is the greatest consolation to find so many servants of God, so confirmed in grace, and in obedience to the Apostolic See, that neither for reward nor for punishment would they consent to take the Oath of Supremacy, or bow the knee to Baal.”

1562

For some reason best known to herself, after her decided refusal to send representatives to the Council of Trent, Queen Elizabeth changed her mind. The Council had been sitting some months, when, in the month of April, 1562, she intimated, through the Cardinal of Lorraine,¹ the wish that the Council might be prorogued, in order to enable her to send her representatives. The nuncio in Paris, Cardinal Ferrara, duly forwarded the application to Rome, adding that the Queen-mother (Catherine de Medicis), the Cardinal of Lorraine and he have just held consultation on the matter; the two first are in favour of the prorogation, but he is not, as Elizabeth was approached so long ago.

Vatican
Transcripts,
28th April

ibid.

The question was referred to Trent, as well as to the Pope, and on the 27th May, the Council determined not to prorogue at the Queen of England's request. Pius IV himself, in an autograph Italian letter, informed Catherine de Medicis of this decision, telling her at the same time that he did not believe in Elizabeth's sincerity.

¹ Charles de Lorraine [1525-1574], called Cardinal de Guise until 1550.

Meanwhile, the efforts to obtain the release of the imprisoned English bishops were not lightly relinquished; there is a letter from the celebrated Spanish statesman, Anthony Granvella to Cardinal Gonzaga at Trent, expressing his hope of success in his efforts to obtain their liberation.¹ 1562

The Emperor Ferdinand also intervened; he had no representative in England, so his letter to Queen Elizabeth was sent through the Ambassador of Spain, Olvano di Quadra. It was despatched early in April, 1563, and is thus summarised by Rishton, in his continuation of Sanders' *History of the English Schism*— 1563

“The Emperor, in most affectionate terms, entreated her not to forsake the fellowship, in matters of faith and religion, of all Christian princes, and even of her own forefathers; not to set her own opinion, and the opinion of certain men who were of yesterday, neither many nor learned, above the judgment of the Church. If, however, she had made up her mind to continue in the sect she had adopted, in spite of the decision of the sovereign pontiff and a general Council, or the example of her Christian fellow-sovereigns, that in that case she would at least, out of natural kindness and goodness, proceed no further against those learned and pious men, the Catholic bishops, who were in her prisons, but rather set them free, seeing that they had done nothing against her Majesty or against the State; the only offence laid at their charge being their perseverance in the communion, and their profession of the ancient faith, which is the faith of all nations, and which, said the emperor, “is also mine.” Lastly, he earnestly begs of her to let them and the other Catholics have the use of some of the churches in the kingdom, wherein they may meet together for the worship of God according to the rites of the Catholic religion. 1563-5

“But even he could gain nothing, and matters in England went daily from bad to worse.” [Page 292.]

Elizabeth's answer, saying she neither can nor will follow the Emperor Ferdinand's advice, may be found in Camden's *Annals*. p. 52

The paragraph in the Emperor's letter mentioning the decision of the Pope and a general Council, referred to the fact

¹ In a later letter from Trent to Cardinal Borromeo, it is stated that the imprisoned bishops suffer grievously from hunger: *Vatican Transcripts*, 13th August, 1563. The Pope contrived to send 1,000 scudi to White, Bishop of Winchester, to divide with the other prelates.

1563-5

that the Queen of England had been included in the general condemnation of the Huguenots and other Protestants.¹ The question was raised by the Pope and discussed in the Council, whether Elizabeth, "on account of her unendurable obstinacy," writes Rishton, should not be publicly denounced as a heretic. But here again the Emperor interfered. Elizabeth had given him hopes that she would marry his son, the Archduke Ferdinand, "so he obtained," continued Rishton,

p. 293

"A respite from the fathers [of the Council]; for he told them that, when she was married to a Catholic husband, she must come to a better mind. But she deceived this suitor, as she had deceived others, and was day by day more obstinate, and to the Catholics more cruel."

1563-5

Cardinal Delfino, nuncio to the Emperor, wrote to Cardinal Morone at Trent, from Innspruck, on the 17th June, 1563, that he had never seen the Emperor in such a way about anything, as at this project of depriving the Queen of England, which will upset all his plans.

Vatican
Transcripts,
27th June

Philip II was no less emphatic. Granvella wrote, ten days later, to the legates at Trent that his royal master expected that nothing would be done by the fathers of the Council against the Queen of England without his knowledge and consent—

"Some expect that her excommunication would induce the Catholics to depose her, but the only result would be to make her more obstinate, and embroe her hands in the blood of those poor imprisoned prelates. . . .

"I do not deny. . . . in the present discontent among both the Catholics and Protestants with her bad government, and on account of *milord Roberto* [Dudley], it might not be difficult for the Catholic Princes, were they unoccupied, to do her a bad turn, *una mala mano*; but according to my feeble judgment, such matters should be well-matured, before infuriating her by such a declaration; and, at least, do not let it be effected without the knowledge and consent of our lord the King."

¹ A list was drawn up before the meeting of the Council of the various Lutheran sects. They numbered twenty-one—fourteen years after Martin Luther's death—and the comment is added: "*super-sunt multae aliae sectae, et in dies novae insurgunt.*" *Vatican Transcripts.*

Under this pressure, the Pope informed the Emperor that he would do nothing against the Queen of England without his [Ferdinand's] consent, whom he regarded as his right hand and his right eye. Vatican
Transcripts,
10th July

The Council of Trent ended its labours, its last session being held on the 4th December, 1563, without having taken any open action against Elizabeth.

Her secret resolution never to marry, while ceaselessly carrying on projects of matrimony, was the best card in the Queen's hand, in the game of politics. That heavily-jewelled hand, of the whiteness and symmetrical beauty of which she was justly proud, was the precious guerdon coveted by all the marriageable princes of Europe, from Philip II downwards—not to mention several of her own subjects. It was offered in turn to all, and given in wedlock to none. Thus did she keep the powers of Europe, the lesser as well as the great, in constant suspense, and with their attention always on the alert: holding them in check, buoying them with hope, staying their wrathful proceedings against her, while they kept their eyes fixed, at times with almost paralysing intentness, upon her every move. 1563-5

The cold calculating design never wavered, while it was covered and disguised under an infinite variety of moods: at times coquettish, coy, languishing, mutable, reluctant, or passionately affectionate, this past-mistress in all the feminine arts, who regarded herself as not only the greatest sovereign but the greatest beauty in the world, carried on this high comedy for more than twenty years: from the time of her accession, when she secured the passivity of the Catholics by a project of marriage with the Earl of Arundel, their chief representative,¹ until her formal betrothal and marriage-treaty—at the age of forty-eight—with the young Duke of Anjou, little more than half her age. It was a comedy that sometimes verged on farce, as with the luckless King of Sweden, Eric XIV, who spent his substance, bought horses and gifts,

¹ Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel [1511 ?–1580]. Being a widower, Arundel was an aspirant to the Queen's hand, a fact which led to a violent dispute with Leicester in 1564.

1561

and prepared his ships, lured by her promises to his envoy ; until Elizabeth took fright, at the moment he was to arrive in England, and, upon hearing that he had asked for his passports from the Governess of the Low Countries, at the eleventh hour gave answer to his agent :—for the moment, she had no wish to marry, but she might change her mind later on. “ So the agent,” writes Commendone to Cardinal Borromeo, “ has begun to sell his horses, and the stuff he had brought with him from the King.”¹

Vatican
Transcripts,
30 Nov.,
1561

1563-5

Once, and once only, in all these matrimonial intrigues, did Elizabeth allow her heart to speak more loudly than her head ; when, at this very time, she so nearly took Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, for her husband.² The diplomatic correspondence is full of the subject, for the Queen made no secret of her infatuation, and the question was held by some to be one of moment to the Catholic cause : for Dudley, desperately anxious to marry the Queen, approached the Spanish ambassador with a promise to restore the Catholic religion in England, in return for Philip II's help in his lofty ambition. Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, who knew England, thought differently ; after his return to Rome, he wrote to Cardinal Morone at Trent—

Vatican
Transcripts,
27th Oct.

“ Your Eminence says Milord Roberto favours the Catholics, and there are hopes that if he were the Queen's husband he would restore the Catholic religion in that kingdom. So think many, but I find that the principal and old nobility of the country, who are really Catholics, hold Milord Roberto in abhorrence for the ill-conduct of his father and of all his kin, and also his own, and therefore would impede his marriage ; and I think he pretends to desire to become a Catholic to make friends for himself, but the causes of the hatred are so many, that it may be believed his enemies would

¹ Eric XIV, son of Gustavus Vasa, first King of Sweden. He succeeded to the throne in 1560 ; he became insane, and was deposed in favour of his brother, John III.

² Robert Dudley was now a widower, Amy Robsart having met her death on Sunday, 8th September, 1560—“ per mischance,” said the official report—“ pitifully slain,” said the chaplain who preached her funeral oration. The Queen was rumoured to have secretly married Dudley in Lord Pembroke's house a few months after his wife's death, and to have been already a mother.

be more numerous still, were he to become king. The opposition of these great ones is a powerful reason with the Queen, for not daring to take him as her husband. . . .” 1563-5

There was the opposition of a greater man still—that of Cecil, who now stepped in. He convinced the Queen that Protestant feeling was becoming excited at the prospect of a Catholic revolution fostered by Spain, and that her own popularity would be endangered. Elizabeth yielded, thus giving, perhaps, the greatest proof in her life, of her consummate sense of her own interests and her power of self-control, even in a matter where her most passionate feelings were concerned. 1561-5 Cecil had the pleasure of thwarting Dudley’s plans ; Sir Henry Sidney, who had approached the Spanish Ambassador on the latter’s behalf, was hurried off to his post in Wales, Dudley bowed before the storm, and Cecil scored one of the greatest triumphs in his long career of statesmanship.¹

Pope Pius IV died in December, 1565, but not without having made one more attempt at reconciliation with the English Queen. In the spring of 1564, Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, was in Rome, and there sent to prison on suspicion of heresy. He was released at the intervention of the English exiles in Rome, and on the 3rd May, 1564, was received in audience by the Pope, Parpaglia acting as interpreter between them. The Pope spoke most kindly of Elizabeth, saying there would be no difficulties about Church property, etc. ; all of which was afterwards confirmed by Cardinals Borromeo and Morone, Secretary of State and Protector of the English. A document embodying the Pope’s assurances was drawn up and given to Sackville for the Queen—

“ If ever the most serene Queen shall be willing to return to union with the Church and the obedience of this See, his Holiness promises that he will receive her with fatherly affection and with all the love that she can desire. And as for the above-mentioned difficulties, he will apply to them such remedies as the Queen’s Majesty and Parliament, and the united will of the entire realm shall judge most fit for the stability of the throne, and assurance of 1565

¹ Cf. Martin Hume’s *Two English Queens and Philip*, p. 210, seq.

1565

peace and quiet of the whole people ; and that in every particular, he will confirm whatever shall be judged just and fair.”¹

These were the chief efforts made from without in favour of the Catholics, during William Allen’s sojourn in Louvain and his campaign in England ; and it may be justly claimed for him that he achieved greater success in his warfare against Elizabeth’s onslaught, than did all the efforts of foreign diplomacy. He destroyed the belief that occasional conformity was permissible, and not only the chief scene of his labours, his native Lancashire, remained in greater part staunch to the ancient faith, but Oxfordshire and Norfolk in a lesser degree ; while neither King, nor Emperor, nor Pope, nor Council was able to abate one *iota* of the English Queen’s proud assumptions and destructive methods.

Кн. II, 317

Allen did not return to Louvain on leaving England, but went to Malines, where he carried into effect his long-formed determination to enter the priesthood ; he received all the minor orders, and was ordained in that city, as we know from his own words many years later—1st February, 1590—in a letter to the Cathedral Chapter of St. Rombaut—*Machliniae omnes ordines ipsumque sacrum presbyteratum accepimus*. He must have reached Malines in the spring of 1565, for the first of his published works bears the date of the 2nd May in that year. It was—

“ *A Defence and Declaration of the Catholic Church’s Doctrine touching Purgatory and Prayers for the Souls departed.*

By William Allen, Master of Arts and Student in Divinity.

Imprinted at Antwerp, by John Latius, with privilege, Anno 1565.”

1565

The book had been written three years previously at Louvain, at the request of a friend, “ who asked of me,” says Allen in his preface, “ as of one whom he heartily loved and knew to be studious in such matters—

“ Upon what grounds the Church’s doctrine, and the Christian people’s faith in Purgatory . . . stood ? The which my doing, though it was both rude and short, yet he so measured it, either by love . . . or else by a singular facility, whereby he dislikes

¹ P.R.O. : *Foreign Eliz.*, lxvii, No. 92. *Catholic Record Society*, Misc., ii, pp. 5–6.

nothing that is meant well, that he made it common to many more, ¹⁵⁶⁵ than I would myself."

Allen was twenty-nine years of age at the time of writing the book, and modestly refers to his "lack of years, and judgment and knowledge." He adds that he had revised and enlarged the work "during these last months."

Nothing in the great Elizabethan spoliation of the Church had been swept away with a more ruthless hand than the grants for *obits* and Masses for the dead established in well-nigh all the churches and monasteries in the land: the existence of Purgatory being denounced as a "vain superstition," it was, perhaps, only natural that the money devoted to the saying of requiems and Masses for the relief of souls suffering therein should be diverted to secular uses. Allen justly contends that "of all causes in the world" this was "wont to touch the very sore of heresy," and to procure him "the hatred of such, whose love otherwise I could be content either to keep or win . . .—

"I may not buy friendship with flattery, nor man's love with forsaking of God's truth . . . my principal care is, that in writing or wading in such deep matters, I keep the straight line of the Church's truth, which, in the exceeding rashness of these dark days, a man may quickly lose. . . . Farewell, gentle reader, and if I pleasure thee with my paynes, let me for Christ's sake be partaker of thy prayers."

The work itself is perhaps the most exhaustive, clear and learned exposition of the doctrine defended, that has ever been written, and as such it was republished towards the end of the 19th century.¹

Beginning with a picture of the disorders of the day, and comparing them with those denounced by St. Jerome in the "Christian Epicures"—the followers of Eunomius and Jovinian, he says—

"Thus doth sacrilege boldly bear out itself, and overreach all the promoters of God's honour; doth incest encounter with lawful marriage, the unordered Apostates shoulder the ordinary successors

¹ Edited in modern spelling by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.Ss.R.: *Burns & Oates*, 1886.

of the Apostles: Feasting hath won the field of fasting; and chambering almost banished chastity. . . .

1665 "First that sovereign remedy of man's misdeeds and the board of refuge after shipwreck, which is the sacrament of Penance, they have to the unspeakable gain of sin removed. . . . Fasting, which is the bridle of carnal concupiscence they have set at such liberty, that it is almost lost. And what havoc in all other spiritual exercise is made the abolishing of penance, discrediting of Purgatory, and abandoning of satisfaction for our sins committed. All which, being nothing else but a kind of soft handling, and sweet cherishing of sin, hath wrought such vain security in men's minds, that few have any feel or fear of God's judgments, few consider the deep wound that sin maketh in man's soul, and most men abhor the remedies requisite for so grievous a sore."

The work is in two books, the first, divided into thirteen short chapters, is devoted to the exposition of the doctrine of Purgatory; the second, in seventeen chapters, treats "of the Prayers and the ordinary relief, that the Church of Christ procureth for the Souls Departed." Across the eloquent pages, move, in stately procession, Allen's witnesses—the patriarchs and prophets of old, Isaiah, Malachy, David, St. John in the Apocalypse; all the passages of holy writ in the Old Testament as in the New, which testify to the existence of that intermediate state, wherein the souls of the departed are cleansed, "yet so as by fire," of the last vestige of temporal punishment due to their sins. And round them throng the crowd of commentators—Augustine, Jerome, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory the Great, Chrysostom and Bede, with their testimony to the truth of the doctrine, and their sentences of condemnation on Vitalis and Pelagius, on the Arians and Donatists who, in their day, impugned its truth; Allen arms himself with their shafts against the old heretical opinions revived by Luther, Calvin, and the others lately dead, or still living, like John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, whom he takes to task for the "shallow and false reasoning" in his famous sermon at Paul's Cross in the Lent of 1561, and afterwards printed as a challenge to the Catholics to prove that his doctrines were not those of the primitive Church—a challenge which was taken up, not only by Allen, but by Thomas

Harding, Nicholas Sanders, and Nicholas Harpsfield—then ¹⁵⁶⁵ in prison, who wrote under the name of Cope—skilled controversialists who easily demolished the crude arguments of their opponent.

However sharply Allen lays on the lash in his attack on the false opinions he denounces, reminding his readers that “ Truth was ever bitter and falsehood flattering ” [*St Cyprian epist. 3. li. 5*] “ For the one by present pain procureth perpetual wealth, the other through deceitful sweetness mocketh everlasting woe,” the gentle nature of the man appears in his next words—

“ To whom if I speak sometimes in this treatise more sharply than my custom or nature requireth, the zeal of truth and just indignation towards heresy, with the example of our forefathers, must be my excuse and warrant. I will be as plain for the unlearned’s sake as I may, and the matter suffers.”

The arguments and proofs in the first book may be summed up in the words quoted from St. Augustine in Chapter VII—

“ Temporal pain (that is, punishment which shall have an end) some suffer in this life, some others after their death, and others some both now and then. But all this before the Day of Judgment, that is the greatest and last of all the Judgments.”

This belief in what St. Augustine often called “ the Amending Fire,” St. Ambrose, “ the fiery sword,” and St. Bernard, the place of expiation “ in which our merciful Father trieth his rusty children as silver is tried,” Allen reminds us—

“ Feared the holiest persons that ever were in God’s Church. This drove many a blessed man to perpetual penance, this brought Jerome himself into the wilderness of Syria, there to lament the lapse of his frail youth . . . this filled the desert with many a noble hermit, this raised up the cloisters and all the holy houses of mourning and prayer in the whole world, and hath in all ages appeared both in the words and works of all Christian people.”

After declaring that no Catholic ever adventures to support an argument with scripture, unless it has been so expounded by the ancient Fathers, Allen asks if Calvin, Flaccius or “ such other of that light family ” were asked “ what doctor or scripture they followed in some of their expositions . . . what would they say ? . . . ”

1565

"Pose Master Jewel where he had, that the Church of God might err. You shall see them earnestly urged in these matters, how little they have to say, and yet how fast they will tennis one to another in talk. . . .

"Think you divers texts of the holy scripture could have carried a false persuasion of Purgatory down from the Apostles' days to our time, for true doctrine? Mark well and you will perceive that the Church of Christ hath ever given room to the diversity of men's wits, the division of graces . . . with this *proviso* always : that no man of singularity should father any falsehood or untruth upon any text ; but otherwise, that every man might abound in his meaning. Marry, falsehood she never suffered for one moment to take hold or bearing of any Scriptures, unreprehended."

Allen concludes his first book with these touching words regarding the souls in Purgatory—

"They suffer great pain, but in quiet peace of conscience, in assured expectation and warrant of their salvation, in love of God's justice and judgment, even towards themselves . . . in perfect love without all sin or danger of sinning . . . and in worship and confession of God's holy name, then and after for evermore."

In the second book, devoted to the question of praying for the departed, after comparing the works of the heretics condemned by St. Bernard with the almost identical words of Calvin, "When the Lord hath taken the dead out of our company, he hath despatched us of all intermeddling with them, or they with us," the writer contrasts the ancient belief in the Communion of Saints—

"A blessed brotherhood under Christ the head, by love and religion so wrought and wrapped together, that what any one member of this fast body hath, the other lacketh it not : what one wanteth, the other supplieth . . . when one joyeth, the other rejoices withal. This happy society, is not impaired by any distance of place, by diversity of God's gifts . . . nor by change of life . . . this city is as large as the benefit of Christ's death taketh place. . . . The souls and saints in Heaven, the faithful people in earth, the chosen children that suffer chastisement in Purgatory, are, by the perfect bond of this unity, as one aboundeth, ready to serve the other, as one lacketh, to crave of the other. . . . And so sayeth St. Augustine."

After warning his readers that the practice of praying for the dead, "hath ever been a ground and a privilege to confirm

the article of resurrection and immortality of the soul," and that by Calvin's doctrine they are "next door by . . . to term them dead souls, as Vigilantius did, whom God's Church . . . nameth *Dormientes in Signo pacis*"; he recalls the practice of the Jews under the old law—Judas Maccabaeus sending 12,000 pieces of silver to Jerusalem to offer for the sins of those departed," wherein he no doubt followed an accepted and established custom":¹ the religious celebration by Abraham of the rites of his wife's funeral, which the scripture calleth *officium funeris*, the obsequies of Moses, etc. The Jews still pray, "Lord remember the faithful souls, and place them in Paradise with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"—

1565

"Hierom :
con Vig.":Genes.
xxiii, 2

"And that charitable relief of the poor, by open doles and almose, was also practised for the welth of the departed in the obits of old time, the scripture itself in the fourth Book of Tobias maketh mention."

The practice of the Church from the earliest times having been proved from St. Augustine and the other great doctors—the holy men who have "in plain words and most godly¹⁵⁶⁵ prayers uttered their belief in our matter," there comes a long and beautiful description of the Mass, the great sacrifice perpetually being offered for the quick and the dead, with a powerful denunciation of its suppression—

"Whatever altar soever is erected against this altar, it is nothing else but a waste of God's worship, a canker of religion, a token of dissension, a separation of the holy society of the Christian Communion . . . an open badge of heresy . . . an open robbery of Christ's honour and priesthood."

As an eye-witness of the spoliation of the churches, it must have been with poignant feelings that Allen wrote the following paragraph—

"Yea, this doctrine hath brought the Church to this beautiful order in all degrees as we have seen. All the noble monuments not only in our commonwealth, but through Christ's Church, do bear sufficient testimony of our first faith therein. . . . Take away the prayers and practice for the dead, either all these monuments

¹ Second Book of Maccabees, cap. 12.

1565

must fall, or else they must stand against their first founder's will and meaning. Look in the statutes of all noble foundations . . . ever sith the day of our calling to Christ's fold, whether they do not expressly testify, that their work of almose and devotion was for this especial respect, to be prayed and sung for, as they call it, after their deaths. Look whether your Universities protest not their faith by many a solemn oath, both privately and openly. Look whether all preachers . . . are not bound by the holy evangels to pray for certain noble princes and prelates of this realm in every one of their sermons in Paul's, or other places of name. And so often as these preachers do omit it, so often are they perjured."

Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, had lately written a book [on Aggeus] in which he sorely complained of men's lack of zeal and devotion in maintaining the ministers of God, as compared with those of old, such as Constantine and other Christian princes in the primitive Church. Allen, who calls him "one of these mock bishops," replies—

"But the good man marketh not whereupon this cold devotion ariseth: he considereth not, that this is the fruitful effect of so idle a false faith, as his own lordship preacheth . . . he weigheth not well, that the great grants of Constantine were made to Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, and not to the married Bishop of Durham. . . .

"I wiss, if the old St. Cuthbert, Wilfrid and William . . . had been of the same religion that the occupiers of their room now be, all the prelates of England might have put their rents in a halfpenny purse. . . .

"Come into the Church again, serve the altar, and then you be worthy to live of the altar: follow our fathers, and you will be loved as our fathers were, confess the religion which our own Apostles first taught . . . and then you shall be blessed of God and honoured of men."

Constit.
lib. 8, cap. 4

The express words of St. Clement, "the Apostles' own scholar," are given: "Let us pray, brethren, for all those that rest in peace, that our merciful Lord, that hath taken their souls in His hand, would forgive them all their offences." Again, Dionysius the Areopagite, not only left in writing what he thought of the matter—

"But also what the Apostles in that spring of religion and pure devotion, taught and ordained to be used, and that by the Apostles'

prescription: whom he termeth the heavenly guides and captains 1565
of truth." ¹

Allen does not hesitate to say—

"Bring my faith once to St. Gregory, and the very stream shall drive me to St. Peter and Paul maugre all their beards, in which order of Bishops, find me one that set forth by decree any practice of contrary doctrine to that which his next predecessor before him did maintain, and I will go seek with the stray a new Mother Church to found my faith upon."

Turning from what he calls the "new-fangled fantastical service," Allen considers the character of some of the ministers thereof. As early as the year 1559 Queen Elizabeth had found it necessary to publish an Injunction regarding the new clergy, ^{IV, p. 185} which may be found in Wilkins, and which Collier describes as looking like "banter and burlesque," so strange a state of affairs do its provisions reveal. ²

"I much marvel not now," writes Allen, referring to this Injunction—

"To see the temporal magistrates of their wisdoms, to hedge these men's wantonness in all their order of life. . . . What ado had the magistrates to make these wild men go in priestly apparel, to keep their rochets, to observe some step of antiquity in their manners. . . . That seeing them have no respect on what woman they light, that by justices of the peace they might be bestowed, if not well, yet with less dishonesty, upon persons not openly infamous.

"Such fellows are more fit to be governed, than to have rule over others: in whom without constraint you shall find neither comeliness in manners, order in life, nor constancy in religion. God of his mercy give them some light to see their own misery."

The adversaries "touch and taunt the Pope in every sermon, in book and ballad," he continues—

"They utter much malice and torment themselves in every sermon in vain: that Church feeleth no soire, but in sorrow of

¹ *Eccles. Hierarch.*, cap. 17.

² See Appendix C. The unavailing complaints of the Calvinistic-minded Bishops—Cox, Pilkington, Grindal, and Jewel—may be found in the First Series of the *Zürich Letters*.

compassion towards her forsakers : she hath ridden greater storms than this, first by tyrants, then by heretics, last and most by the evil life of her own bishops. In all which she yet standeth and ever riseth to honour, as she is most impugned. . . .”

After a statement of the definition, by the great Council of Florence, of the doctrine of Purgatory and of praying for the dead, we have a lively description of the method of procedure of the “Sect-masters”—

“Thus they lightly practice first by lofty looks and high challenges, they croke and boast with passing boldness, that the learned men of the world, the sage fathers of the ancient times, all grave councils, the whole usage of the primitive Church, with plain scripture, be on their part. And as for the contrary teaching, that it came in of late with her decay of learning and light of truth, in those barbarous times when superstition and dark ignorance had wasted the doctrines of the years past.

“And in this brag they stand, till some Catholic man encounter with them. By whom when they see themselves so driven from the standing which they kept with great glory before . . . then in plain words they confess their teaching not to hang on antiquity, nor on Councils, nor on Doctors . . . but on God’s holy spirit and word, which cannot deceive them.”

A copy of the *Institutions* of Calvin had been ordered to be placed, together with the Bible, in every parish church. In them, Allen declares you may find the whole frame of the “negative faith”—

“The preachers thereof must ever be destroyers, pluckers down, and rooters up of the truth grounded before.

“Will you see then what a protestant’s faith and doctrine is ? Deny only, and make a negation of some one article of our belief, and that is a form of his faith, which is lightly negative. There is no free-will, there is no works needful to salvation, there is no church known, there is no chief governor thereof, there be not seven Sacraments, they do not give grace. Baptism is not necessary to salvation : Christ is not present on the altar, there is no sacrifice, there is no priesthood . . . there is no profit in prayers to saints, or for the dead, there is no Purgatory ; finally if you list go forward in your negative faith, there is no hell, there is no heaven, there is no God. . . . Look in Calvin’s *Institutions* and you shall find the whole frame of this wasting faith. There is nothing in that blasphemous book, nor in their apologies, but a gathered body of this no faith. For so it must needs be that teacheth no truth, but plucketh up that truth which before was planted.”

One of these "overthrowers of the faith," as Allen terms ¹⁵⁶⁵ him, Grindal, Bishop of London, had, in a funeral oration, attempted to prove his negative argument against Purgatory on the authority of the Old Testament—"How lord-like Master Grindall made his argument here: where he should plainly have inferred the contrary!" exclaims Allen, who proceeds to confute it from St. Augustine and the practice of the primitive Church.

The exhaustive treatise is brought to an end with an appeal to the "gentle reader" to "weigh the doings and dealings of both parties" with indifferency—

"The one is upholder by the evident testimony of holy Scripture, the other maintaineth her train by bold denial of Scripture; the one seeketh with humility the meaning at their mouths, whom God hath undoubtedly blessed with the gift of understanding and interpretation, the other . . . foundeth her unfaithfulness upon the fantasies of light and lewd persons, that are puffed to and fro with every blast of doctrine. The one resteth upon the practice of all nations, the usage of all ages . . . the other holdeth only by contempt of our elders, flattery of the present days and unhappy waste of all works of virtue. . . . To be short, truth is the Church's darling, heresy must have her maintenance abroad. . . .

"Compare our Church with theirs, compare her authority and theirs, her majesty and theirs . . . Compare her constancy in doctrine with their inconstant mutability. . . .

"Let us that be Catholics bless God's name for ever: that he hath not taken his mercy from us; that he hath not dealt with us ¹⁵⁶⁵⁻⁶⁷ according to our sins. We have offended sorely and have deserved this plague; our Priests have offended, our Princes have offended, our People have offended; yet for his own name sake, he hath looked upon us, and hath kept us within the household of salvation. Glory and honour be to his holy name for ever more. Amen."

Soon after his arrival at Malines, Allen was appointed ¹⁵⁶⁵ lecturer on theology at the splendid college which the Benedictine monks possessed in that city, so that his livelihood was assured; and it is probable that Malines was his home for the next two years, during which his pen was busy upon controversial work, notably his book on the Priesthood and Indulgences, begun while in Oxfordshire.

At the end of 1566, or early in 1567, he received the news of his father's death.

1565

Meanwhile the appearance of his work on Purgatory had made considerable stir in England, and was probably the occasion of Allen's first introduction to the notice of the Queen and Cecil—a notice which took the shape of a warrant for his apprehension. On the 24th January, 1564-5, the Queen had sought to check the inflow of the controversial works of Sanders, Harding and other exiles, by a letter to Grindal, Bishop of London, ordering him to seize all such "seditious books" arriving in the Port of London, their chief place of entry. He was to keep a person constantly employed in examining incoming vessels for books of the kind.¹

Throughout his book, Allen had carefully avoided any mention of the Queen and her ministers: the only three living persons alluded to in its pages are Grindal, Pilkington and Jewel, who had written against the doctrine which Allen defended; so that only on the assumption that no man might criticise any new article of faith, or defend any old one, could the *Defence of Purgatory* come under the ban of "seditious books."

1567-8

R.O.
Dom. Eliz.,
46, 32

The draft of the Queen's writ is dated 21st February, 1567-8, and is addressed to Edward Holland, Sheriff of Lancaster. In Cecil's handwriting are several corrections and additions, extending its scope to those priests "who lately have been," as well as those actually secretly maintained in "pryvat places in that our County"; and enforcing it with such words as "seditiously," and "that none may pretend ignorance therein," etc., in ordering that the said persons be apprehended and committed to ward. Allen heads the list as—"Alen, who wrote the late booke of Purgatory." Then come the following five:—Vaux, late Warden of Manchester; Murray (*sic*), chaplain to Bonner, "late Bishop of London," Marshall, once dean of Christ Church, Oxford, James Hargreaves, late Vicar of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Blackburn, and "One Norreys, terming himself a phisician."

1567-8

Allen was probably supposed to be still "lurking in Lancashire": Vaux was safely abroad, keeping a school at Louvain for the children of the lay exiles, and was not apprehended

¹ Wilkins: *Concilia*, iv, p. 250.

until the year 1580. Hargreaves and the other three probably¹⁵⁶⁷⁻⁸ received a hint from the sheriff, or from the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Derby, to get out of the way.¹

Hargreaves, the late Vicar of Blackburn, was not apprehended until several years later, and is supposed to have died in Salford gaol about the year 1584. The person described as "Murray," was John Murren, or more properly, Morwen, a Devonian by birth, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Bachelor of Divinity in 1551, who was private tutor to John Jewel, and the firm opponent of his later opinions. Morwen was teacher of Greek and Latin to Miss Roper, granddaughter of Sir Thomas More, and translated some of her orations into English. In 1558 he was chaplain to Bishop Bonner, Canon of St. Paul's and Vicar of St. Martin's Church, Ludgate, subsequently Prebendary of Ealdland and the Church of Wickham Bishop, Vicar of Copford and Ascheldam, all in the diocese of London. After Elizabeth's accession, he was summoned before the Council in February, 1558-9, for preaching contrary to the Queen's proclamation, but upon confessing his contempt, was liberated on the 16th March. He was deprived of all his preferments, and in 1561 was reported to have wandered through Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Lancashire "very seditiously casting abroad a seditious libel" (upon the burning of St. Paul's, London, A.D. 1561).

¹ Vaux, Laurence [1519-85]. Born at Blackrod, near Bolton-le-Moors, where his family are traced from an early period, the name being pronounced Vause or Vose. He was ordained priest in the collegiate church, Manchester, in 1542. The College, dissolved by Edward VI, was restored by Mary, and Vaux was made warden in 1558. When Elizabeth's commissioners visited the College, they found the Warden fled, taking with him the College muniments. In 1566 he went to Rome and had an audience with Pope St. Pius V, after which he spent a short time in England, getting back to Louvain in 1567, in which year he printed his famous catechism. At the age of fifty-three, he entered the novitiate of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, 10th August, 1572. In 1580 he came again to England, and was betrayed and apprehended at Rochester. He died in the Clink in the course of 1584. *Obiit in vinculis martyr*, wrote Bridgewater in 1588, and the rumour reached Louvain that his death was caused by starvation, or the hardships of his prison. In the writ, Vaux is wrongly described as Warden of *Winchester*, instead of Manchester.

1567-8
fo. 403,
p. 42

There is no evidence of any further proceedings against him, and he is referred to by Bridgewater, in his *Concertatio*, as having died in exile.¹

Marshall, Ex-Dean of Christ Church College, as we shall see, arrived at Douay a few months later; and Norreys was in all probability a member of the important Lancashire family of that name, and certain of timely warning to make his escape.

¹ Wood's *Athenae* (ed. Bliss), i, col. 195, 196. Tanner: *Bibl. Brit.*, 536. Newcourt: *Repertorium*, i, 147. MS. Kennet, *Strype Hist.*, i, p. 42.

CHAPTER V

WHILE the Queen's writ was out against William Allen in Lancashire, he had just arrived in Rome. In the autumn of 1567, he set out on a pilgrimage to the Eternal City, in the company of his old master at Oriel, Morgan Philipps, and of a new friend who was shortly to prove one of his greatest helpers—Dr. John Vendeville, regius professor of canon law at the University of Douay, and afterwards, from the year 1588 to his death in 1592, Bishop of Tournay. Vendeville had become a priest on the death of his wife, and was the familiar friend of St. Charles Borromeo, St. Philip Neri, and Cardinal Baronius.¹

Before leaving Flanders, Allen had published another book—"A treatise in defence of the Lawful Power and Authoritie of Priesthood to remit sin: of the people's duty for confession of their sinnes to God's ministers: and . . . concerning Indulgences, commonlie called the Pope's pardon."

The *Privilegio concessum* is dated Brussels, 26th April, 1567, and signed "Prats." The book was published at Louvain, *Apud Johanem fouterum*, A.D. 1567.

In the address to the "Christian Reader" Allen says the book was his "last Lent's work," and that it is longer than was required at his hands by those who asked him to write it—it contains 412 pages—because he cannot convey himself "in so little room, where the cause is so large." He hopes not to be tedious, as he has divided the work into chapters, "where the readers at every turning and joint of the cause, may rest themselves."

In the first treatise the sacrament of Penance is defended against its deniers—Novatus, condemned by a great Council at Rome in the third century, and, in the course of ages, the

¹ Raissius, in his *Belgica Christiana* (pp. 273 and 276), gives a short account of Vendeville, and refers to his life, written by Nicolaus Zoes, Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, and published at Douay in 1598.

1567-8

Jacobitae, Wycliff and his disciples, the Waldenses and lately the Lutherans and Calvinists—

“All which black band, though they agree not at every pinch of Novatus’ heresie (for it is not possible that such should ever fully consent), yet all knit tails together in this, that there is no sacrament of Penance after Baptism.”

Matt.
xxviii, 20

The writer maintains that the power of remitting and retaining sins, given to the Apostles, was not bestowed on them in respect of their private persons, but as they were public officers; therefore, the like authority is common, by Christ’s grant, to all priests of His Church, who, in this matter, are the apostles’ successors, and under the promise—“I will be with you to the end of the World.” The unworthiness of the ministers is no hindrance to the efficacy of the exercise of this function, to the spiritual benefit of the people: they may be, and “full often are most wicked persons, without any impair of their authoritie.” They hold the gifts “for the use of other men, to whom they be beneficial, even there, where they be hurtful to the bestowers.”

As St. Ambrose, in Allen’s words “trippeth prettily” the Novations of his day as “*delicati mei*, my delicate gentlemen . . . with their lusty looks and swelling hearts, who cannot abide in their bravery to look upon a poor caitiff weeping his sins abundantly . . . in sad and sorrowful companie”; so Allen declares “this is surely the disease of our days, which hath not only infected the unfaithful, but also . . . even the better sort of God’s people.”

After an overwhelming array of citations from Scripture, from General Councils and the Fathers, Allen concludes—

“By Christ confession was instituted: by the Apostles it was commended to all Christians: by their example all nations faithful afterwards have used it: by General Councils . . . it hath been both confirmed and commanded: by all learned Doctors liked and allowed: by all Christian people frequented reverently, as the only refuge after their relapse.”

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The second part of the treatise is a plain and authoritative explanation of the doctrine concerning Indulgences, a doctrine, by Luther’s denial of which, as Allen says—“the lamentable tragedy and toil of his time first did begin.”

"Luther who first in all men's memory, saving one ¹⁵⁶⁷⁻⁸ Wycliff, who was condemned in Constance Council for the same, was so bold upon contention to condemn [Indulgences]. . . . He fumbled at the beginning otherwise than his fellows and followers to disgrace the same: sometimes by holding the pardons to be lawful, but not profitable: other whiles, to be deceits, but yet invented for holy purposes, now by avouching they could not stand with God's justice, if they could remit any part of the appointed pain for sins."

Allen ridicules the notion that Indulgences ever did, or could contain a permission to commit sin; he points out that their remission of temporal punishment due for forgiven sin is only granted to the *confessed and contrite*—a clause contained in every Indulgence—and to those who are in a *state of grace*—

"Therefore to him that is free from grievous sins, or pardoned for the same, all these things shall be commodious but if he be in state of damnation, and out of God's favour he cannot obtain any Pardon at the Pope's hands, neither alive nor dead, nor none was ever meant unto him."

In proof that it is the temporal punishment only which is concerned, Allen points to the words—

"*We assoil them from their enjoined penance, or from the penance of so many days or years, as may be plainly seen in the holy Council of Lateran, and in the Decrees both of Innocent III and IV.*" ¹

In this work and in his *Defence of Purgatory*, Allen attained the very first rank as a dialectician, equalling Harding, who, until then had been *facile princeps* among the controversialists of his day. The erudition is profound, the possession of his subject in all its details so complete, that he writes with an easy mastery which leaves no point untouched or inadequately treated. Writing in the vernacular for the unlearned, his expositions are so plain and lucid as to be within the comprehension of the vulgar, while they could satisfy the requirements of the most expert theologians. And throughout, beats

¹ A copy of this rare book, in the possession of Mr. Gillow, belonged to Thomas Langton, Knt., Baron of Newton, who died in 1569, at the age of seventy-two, and it seems to have cost him 12s. 6d. (over £6 of the present currency). His son, Roger Langton's autograph is at the end of the book. Allen was very probably a guest of the Langtons at Walton during his stay in Lancashire.

1567-8

the strong pulse of the large-hearted nature of the man, whose almost fierce defence of truths he holds dearer than life, is accompanied by the tenderest love of his fellow-men : a love which finds expression in sudden little appeals *ad hominem* : in short, almost involuntary bursts of pleading with those whose errors he unflinchingly assails. And there is a sense of proportion and of order, of restrained force which foretell the great qualities as a ruler and guide of men, which Allen was shortly to display, and which were to gain for him so great a reputation, that it could only be expressed by likening him unto Moses, "our Moses," as his disciples lovingly termed him.

Vit. Alani,
p. 64

Dodd,
II, 45

While Morgan Philipps and Allen went as ordinary pilgrims to Rome, Dr. Vendeville had a special object in view : that of laying before the Sovereign pontiff a scheme he had formed—for the conversion of infidels, according to Fitzherbert—or according to Dodd, for the relief of Christian slaves out of Barbary. His project may well have had both ends in view. The Pope, who now occupied the chair of Peter, was the Dominican, Michael Gisleri, already famous for his sanctity, and afterwards canonised as St. Pius V. He had succeeded Pius IV in December, 1565, and was, at the time the three friends came to Rome, so deeply immersed in business that he could not find time to give them audience.

After spending the winter in Rome, the friends started on their journey homewards. According to Robert Bellarmine, S.J. (afterwards Cardinal), who mentions the fact in his autobiography, they stayed at Milan, where he met them and travelled in their company to Louvain. Cardinal Borromeo was at that time Archbishop of Milan, and actively pursuing the great works of reform and education which have immortalised his name. Dr. Vendeville was his familiar friend, and there can be little doubt that he and his friends were the great Cardinal's guests during their stay in Milan. Intercourse with such a man must have been of the utmost value and interest to Allen ; and the only difficulty which presents itself is that of the date—Bellarmine giving it as the beginning of 1569—*apparente anno* 1569—whereas it was in the spring of



MONUMENT OF ST. PIUS V, BY L. SARZANA
Church of St. Maria Maggiore, Rome

1568 that the friends returned from Rome to Louvain. There ¹⁵⁶⁷⁻⁸ is no mention of Allen's absence in *Douay Diary* under the year 1569, nor is there any record of a journey to Italy in that year. It is, moreover, highly improbable that he could have left the infant college, founded with infinite labour and difficulty on the 29th September, 1568, so shortly after its opening; and the likelihood is that Bellarmine made a mistake in the date, inadvertently writing 1569 instead of 1568.¹

Dr. Vendeville's disappointment at the failure of his attempt to lay his projects before the Pope weighed on his spirits, and it was with some dejection that, as they travelled homewards, he gradually unfolded to William Allen's sympathetic ears the source of his despondency. Allen at once seized the opportunity of giving a new direction to his friend's zeal. With all the persuasive eloquence of which he was master, he drew a lively picture of the state of the persecuted Catholics in Eng- ¹⁵⁶⁸land and the Netherlands, and pointed out that to come to their help, to prevent their faith from being entirely stamped out, would be as great a work—and an easier one—as to attempt the conversion of the Turks, or the release of the Barbary captives.

As they slowly made their way through Italy and the pleasant land of France, there was plenty of time for the subject to be discussed, and all the advantages and difficulties of its achievement weighed and balanced. Allen's modest ambition went no farther than the establishment of some central place, where the scattered exiles might come together and live in common—a sort of oasis in the wilderness of exile—and to which those who in future might feel moved to “keep their consciences” by leaving their country, might come in the assurance of finding a refuge and a welcome. But to Vendeville's older and more experienced eyes a greater and more far-reaching prospect opened itself. In Allen he recognised

¹ Bellarmine's statement is that he travelled from Milan to Louvain in the company of “William Allen (afterwards Cardinal), two other Englishmen, and an Irishman.” Knox suggests that Allen may have gone to Milan early in the spring of 1569 to solicit alms from St. Charles Borromeo [i, p. xxx].

1568

the man of transcendent abilities, capable of the accomplishment of a great and difficult work, while he foresaw the speedily coming time when the Marian priests, who, to the number of several hundreds, were ministering in secret throughout England, would either have died out, or have joined their brethren in captivity. So, as Allen gratefully acknowledges in a letter to Vendeville, written twelve years later, it was he who first proposed that the college should not be only a place where, in Allen's words "our countrymen scattered abroad in different places might live and study together more profitably than apart," but also a seminary for the training of theological students to become missionary priests in England, and to fill up the places of the "old priests," as they gradually died out.

Knox,
II, p. 52

Allen's first plan did, indeed, comprise the training of learned priests, but only in order that they might be ready to "restore religion" in England when the proper time should arrive. He considered it hopeless to attempt anything until after the death of Elizabeth or "while the heretics were masters there."

On their arrival in Flanders, Allen went to Louvain, and Vendeville returned to the ancient fortified city of Douay, in the province of Artois, where, as we have seen, he was regius professor of canon law. Allen's schemes had made a deep impression upon his mind, and thenceforward he was to leave nothing undone to promote them. He determined that Douay was the place where the new college could most profitably be established, and where he could most easily help it on. The Douay University, although contemplated by Emperor Charles V in the year 1531, so that "his subjects who spoke Flemish need no longer go to France to learn French," was only carried into effect by his son Philip II.¹ In 1559 that monarch obtained from Pope Paul IV a bull, erecting the University for the "maintenance and preservation of the Catholic religion at Douay . . . where the inhabitants were surrounded on almost every side by heretical and schismatical populations." By letters patent of 19th January, 1561, Philip authorised the establishment of the University, which

¹ Tailliar: *Chroniques de Douai*, ii, 119; Knox, i, xxvii.

was to contain five faculties—theology, canon law, civil law, ¹⁵⁶⁸ medicine and arts. It was organised after the pattern of the University of Louvain, from which, at the request of Margaret, Duchess of Parma, Governess of the Netherlands, the first professors were taken.¹ Among these was Dr. Richard Smith, formerly fellow of Merton College and regius professor of divinity at Oxford, who was appointed Chancellor of the new University—one of the many examples of the high reputation for learning and integrity enjoyed by English scholars in the sixteenth century. He held the office but a short time, as he died in July, 1563.

Colleges in the new University gradually came into existence. ¹⁵⁶⁸⁻⁹ The neighbouring monastery of St. Vaast at Anchin, built and endowed, at Dr. Vendeville's request, Anchin College in the year 1569, and twelve months later, the abbot of Marchiennes, of the same order of St. Vaast, founded Marchiennes College for the benefit of law students. Here again we find an Englishman at the head, in the person of Dr. Richard White, sometime fellow of New College, Oxford, who was to be for nearly twenty years regius professor of canon and civil law at Douay. ^{Douay Diary, I, p. 4} Allen's college in point of time took precedence of both of these, and could claim to be the first seminary ever established under the new rules promulgated by the Council of Trent.

To Vendeville's efforts, the erection of the English College was mainly due ; he obtained the money for the purchase of a "large house and very convenient," situated close to the theological schools ; he defended the new undertaking from the criticism of opponents who either doubted its necessity, or believed it impossible to obtain sufficient means for its permanent support ; the rich abbeys of Anchin and Marchiennes responded to his appeals for alms ; he petitioned the Duke of Alva, Governor of the Low Countries, for a grant of 300 crowns, through Dr. Viglius, president of the Council, and though the result is not recorded, the application was no doubt successful. Dr. Richard Smith's successor as Chancellor of ^{ibid.} the University—Dr. Matthew Galen—warmly supported the

¹ Ram. : *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire de l'université de Louvain*, No. lx, p. 121. Knox : i, xxvii.

1568-9 project, and on Michaelmas Day, 1568, the college was opened, the papal confirmation and approval being granted a few months later by Pope Pius V.

Dr. Vendeville's letter to Dr. Viglius, dated October, 1568, is still extant, and contains interesting details of the modest beginnings of Allen's enterprise, and his own appreciation of his character. It states that five or six Englishmen "of great ability and promise" are already established in the house prepared for them, and that their president is Mr. William Allen, "who has lately been appointed public Catechist, at the request of the University and the magistrates." Vendeville says of him—

"He is a man greatly practised in controversy, and of solid learning and accomplishments. Some years ago he laboured much in England for the Catholic cause with manifest danger to his life, and brought back into the right path many of the gentry and common people, as the English who are in Belgium can testify. These men have been living together for several weeks in the regular and frugal fashion which I have described."

The "modest board and lodging," Vendeville tells us, was to be accompanied by teaching not only of the "general acquaintance with the whole of theology which many of them already possess," but with a "more than ordinary knowledge of ecclesiastical history and antiquities," so that the students might become skilled controversialists, and after a course of two or three years, fit to be sent back to England to promote the Catholic cause, "even at the price of their lives." We get an idea of the frugality of the life at the English College, from the fact that the two Belgians, John (or Philip) Raverton and Simon Colier, who joined it on its opening, left soon afterwards, as the poverty of the living was more than they could stand. The same reason caused the departure of the whilom Dean of Christ Church College, Oxford, John Marshall, who is described in a marginal note of the *Dowry Diary: Scripior conit. Haer.* Marshall subsequently became canon of Lille, where he died at an advanced age, after a life of great piety,

¹ Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. II [Appendix], p. CCXXX.

3rd April, 1597. Perhaps the doctrine of " low living and high thinking " was seldom more exactly fulfilled than in the infant English College at Douay. Allen did his best : his office of Public Catechist may or may not have carried any emolument with it, but, despite the cares attendant on the direction of his College, he was able to pursue his own theological studies ; and on 12th November and 2nd December, 1569, we find him performing the three acts required for the degree of bachelor of divinity, and on the following 31st January, 1570, he was admitted to the licence ; immediately upon which he was appointed regius professor of divinity at the Douay University with an annual stipend of 200 gold crowns. Of this he reserved nothing for himself, but put the whole into the common purse, so as to supply the members of the college with better food and clothing, and to receive eight more theological students.

On the 10th July, 1571, he and Thomas Stapleton were created doctors of divinity.

In addition to John Marshall, the three other Englishmen who were the first members of the college were Richard Bristow, Edward Risdon, and John White. Bristow, a Worcestershire man of middle-class parentage, born in 1538, was thirty years of age when Allen sent for him from Louvain, where he had lately arrived from Oxford, and was studying theology. Like Edmund Campion, he had submitted to the new Anglicanism, and as M.A. of Christ Church College, 25th June, 1562, Wood describes him as being " now in great renown for his oratory " ; and with Campion, one of " the two brightest men of the University." For this reason, they were chosen to entertain Queen Elizabeth with a public disputation on the occasion of her visit to Oxford in September, 1566—which they did with great applause.

Bristow was elected Fellow of Exeter College in July, 1567, and the following year, becoming convinced that he had erred in his religious convictions, he left Oxford and England for Louvain, where he made the acquaintance of Allen who, as we have seen, invited him to Douay. He was to be the first of the students ordained priest—at Brussels, 1572-3—Allen's " prefect of studies " and his " right hand." To Bristow,

1568-9

1569-70

Fasti,
I, 161

Annals
(ed. Gutch),
II, 159

1569-70

until his death in 1581, the success of the college may, after Allen, be attributed, so great were his prudence, kindness, and learning.¹

Edward Risdon was M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, and in 1574 left Douay to join the English Carthusians at Bruges. The fourth was John White who, at a later period, became doctor of divinity and ultimately died in Ireland.

The place of Dean Marshall and the two Belgians was immediately filled by three Englishmen—John Wright, a priest of York, a very learned man, who afterwards became licentiate of theology, and laboured long and zealously on the English mission; Richard Storey, a priest from Gloucester, who later became a Jesuit, and Thomas Darell, a student of New College, Oxford, a great benefactor to the seminary during his whole life. A greater benefactor still took up his residence from the first in the college—Morgan Philipps, Allen's old master and beloved friend at Oriel, his predecessor as principal of St. Mary Hall, and his great supporter at the college both in life and in death, as he bequeathed his entire fortune to Allen at his death in August, 1571. He and Darell had been fortunate enough to leave England without incurring the loss of their property.

The course of study at the new seminary was as generous as the diet was meagre: we have a full description of it in the letter from Dr. Allen to Vendeville, of September, 1580, extracts from which have already been given describing his three years' work in England. Latin almost all the students were proficient in before their arrival at Douay, so Allen only mentions the teaching of Greek and Hebrew—

“So far as is required to read and understand the scriptures of both Testaments in the original, and to save them from being entangled in the sophisms which heretics extract from the properties and meanings of words.”

The thoroughness of the study of the Bible is seen by the daily lecture on the New Testament; the Old Testament

¹ Bristow's mother and her whole family left England for Douay; his uterine brother, Louis Vaughan, a layman, was a good economist, and was employed as house-steward for many years at the college.

being gone through twelve times in three years, the usual ¹⁵⁶⁹⁻⁷⁰ period of a student's stay, and the New Testament no less than sixteen times. Nor was this all: in order that the future missionary might have at his fingers' ends all the passages used by Catholics in support of their faith, and "misused by heretics" in opposition thereto—

"At suitable times they take down from dictation with reference to the controversies of the present day all those passages of holy Scripture. . . . A disputation is held once a week on these passages, in which the students defend in turn not only the Catholic side against the texts of Scripture alleged by heretics, but also the heretical side against those which Catholics bring forward, that they may all know better how to prove our doctrines by argument and to refute the contrary opinions. The profit of this exercise is much increased by the presence of the masters, who never allow anything to be passed over by either side without its being submitted to a thorough examination. . . . This exercise takes place twice a week."

On Sundays and festivals the more advanced students preached English sermons, in order, explains Allen, to acquire greater power and grace in the use of the "vulgar tongue"—

"In this respect the heretics, however ignorant they may be on other points, have the advantage over many of the more learned Catholics, who having been educated in the universities and in the schools do not commonly have at command the text of scripture, or quote it except in Latin. Hence when they are preaching to the unlearned, and are obliged on the spur of the moment to translate some passage which they have quoted into the vulgar tongue, they often do it inaccurately and with unpleasant hesitation. . . . Our adversaries on the other hand have at their fingers' ends all those passages of Scripture which seem to make for them, and by a certain deceptive adaptation and alteration of the sacred words produce the effect of appearing to say nothing but what comes from the Bible."

Two lectures on the Summa of St. Thomas are given each week, and every eight days there is a disputation on five specially chosen articles of the Summa.

Since all the labourers in the English vineyard will be employed in administering the sacraments, and above all in

1569-70

hearing confessions, care is taken to instruct them most thoroughly in the whole catechism and in pastoral theology—

“Hence everyone before arriving at those higher studies which we have mentioned, is most carefully instructed in all the chapters of the catechism of Canisius, and after that in the entire method of reading the breviary and saying mass, as well as in the way of using the Blessed Virgin’s rosary with the meditations attached to it, in order that by understanding these things themselves they may be more fit to explain them hereafter to the simple people. For experience teaches us that they are by no means to be despised, as though they were hindrances to grave studies. . . . Certainly St. Augustine, Bede, Thomas and the like gave far more time to such things than we do, and yet their studies gained, rather than suffered detriment thereby.”

The students are advised to read for private study the dogmatic portion of the Council of Trent, and the English provincial Councils collected by Linwood: the whole of Church history, especially that of Venerable Bede, the books of St. Augustine against the heretics, of Cyprian concerning the unity of the Church, and the book of St. Jerome against Vigilantius and Jovinianus. Among the authors who have written professedly about English controversies and errors, Allen gives the preference to Thomas Waldensis “who has most learnedly refuted all the tenets of modern heretics in their parent Wickliff.”

The students are to learn to hate the heretics with the “perfect hatred” of the Psalmist, which distinguishes love of the sinner from detestation of his sin.¹

To this end, the perfection of his own character will be the most fitting instrument: the training of the heart must accompany, even precede the training of the intellect. Allen tells us, “We must needs confess that all these things” [their dear ones perishing in schism, every jail filled with Christ’s priests and servants] “have come upon our country through our sins.” So he preaches penance: No longer “must we confess our sins in a perfunctory way . . . for custom’s sake, once a year”; but “confess more frequently, communicate more devoutly.” He recommends the performance of the *Spiritual Exercises* of him who was not yet canonized as St.

¹ Ps. cxxxviii, 21, 22.

Ignatius, and he goes on to describe how the exercises of piety ¹⁵⁶⁹⁻⁷⁰ were being carried out—

“ All the students hear mass together every day at five o'clock, after having first said the litanies for the Church and the conversion of our country. Every Sunday and on the greater feasts they confess and communicate, and almost all of them say the canonical hours every day. The priests celebrate daily. On the feasts of St. Gregory, St. Augustine, apostle of England and St. Thomas of Canterbury, martyr, we all meet together for high mass . . . and pray for the conversion of our country and the peace of the whole church and of that place in which by God's providence we live in exile. We fast twice a week for the same intention, and we commend much to the Lord the cause of all who are in bondage or affliction for religion's sake.”

How Allen fulfilled his duties as head, we know from the testimony of an eye-witness, who with his four brothers had been trained at Douay—John Pitts, writer of the great work *De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus*, wherein, after describing the ^{P. 792} admirable state of the college, he says—

“ Allen presided over everything, and with wonderful dignity, constancy and authority governed the whole college, yea, through the college almost all the Catholics of our nation, and by his firm and prudent rule kept them all to the fulfilment of their duties in the greatest charity, peace and concord.” ¹

The writer here alludes to the large number of English laymen, with their wives and families, who were gradually taking up their abode at Douay, and who were admitted to the sermons and services at the College, thus coming under Dr. Allen's influence.

One of Allen's most important friends then, and afterwards in Rome, was Dr. Owen Lewis, a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and later Bishop of Cassano. Among the more noteworthy men who, in 1569 and '70, came to Douay were Thomas Stapleton, Fellow of New College and Canon of Winchester, already a controversialist of mark, and Thomas Dorman, Fellow of All Souls', Oxford, and bachelor of divinity at Douay.

¹ The mother of John Pitts was one of the twelve children of William Sanders, high sheriff of Surrey in 1556, and sister of the famous Dr. Nicholas Sanders.

1569-70

His replies to Jewel and to Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, had appeared several years previously. Gregory Martin, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's children, arrived in 1570, and the next name to his inscribed on the *Douay Diary* is one that can hardly be read without emotion—"Edmundus Campianus, Londinen." So the second of the two brilliant disputants who had entertained Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley with their wit and eloquence, had now left England and all chances of preferment, for the poverty of exile and the strict discipline of seminary life. As fellow of St. John's, Campion had taken the oath of supremacy, and had allowed himself to be persuaded to be ordained deacon according to the new rites, so as to be capable of preferment, and to be able to preach; an act of which, he says himself, he began to repent as soon as it was accomplished.¹

1570

Campion was in his thirtieth year, and it is not too much to say that had he remained in England he might have attained to the highest honours and preferment. Robert Dudley, who was Chancellor of Oxford, was his patron, and the Queen had not only highly praised his disputation, and recommended him in a special manner to Dudley, but heard him deliver a "rare oration" at Woodstock a little later, to her great contentment, and that of the whole Court. Wood says that he had welcomed Elizabeth in the name of the University at her entry into Oxford, as he had welcomed Queen Mary at her entry into London when a lad of eleven, as the "champion" prize boy of Christ Church, Newgate Street, thirteen years previously.² At Oxford, after taking his degree, he had hosts of pupils who followed not only his teaching but his example, and imitated not only his phrases but his gait; though they could not copy the "sweet, modulated, full, sonorous bass voice" which thrilled the hearts of his hearers and inspired them with high resolves. He filled Oxford with "Campionists"; he became, like Hotspur, the glass wherein

¹ Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 29.

² Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, pp. 3, 13.

the youth did dress themselves, whose speech, gait and diet ¹⁵⁷⁰ was the copy and book that fashioned others.¹

Dudley, when telling Campion of the Queen's recommendation, had advised him not to be "too modest" in his demands, for it was not only by the Queen's command, but by his own inclination that he would befriend him—"Ask what you like for the present. The Queen and I will provide for the future."² Campion asked for nothing but the friendship of the Chancellor.

Campion left Oxford on the 1st August, 1569, but he did not go abroad at once, despite the entreaties of his great friend, Gregory Martin, who, before leaving the Duke of Norfolk's service, wrote to warn him against the ambition which would lead him into the wide path, where so many great wits had gone astray, and bidding him not to fear poverty—

"If we two can but live together, we can live on nothing; if this is too little, I have money, if this fails, one thing is left—*qui seminant in lacrymis, in exultatione metent*—they that sow in tears shall reap in joy."³

Campion thought that in Ireland he might find less opposition to his way of thinking than in England, and the opening to a wider career in Dublin, where the old University, now extinct, was to be begun anew under the auspices of men who, if not actually Catholics like the Recorder of Dublin, James Stanihurst, were very tolerantly inclined towards the old religion. For divers reasons, the scheme failed; Campion, who was living in the Recorder's house, was suspected of being a Papist, and was only saved from arrest by the protection of Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, who promised Stanihurst that while he was Governor "no busy knave of them all should trouble him for so worthy a guest as Mr. Campion."⁴ With Sidney's departure, Campion's position became unsafe, and he finally left Dublin, after writing—in ten weeks—the short

¹ Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, pp. 3, 6. Gregory Martin, *apud* Bridgewater, fol. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17. Bombinus, cap. ii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

1579

History of Ireland which he dedicated to his "singular good lord," Robert Dudley. The manuscript was seized by the officers who searched the ship in which, as "Mr. Patrick," and disguised as a lacquey, he sailed from Tredah, or Tredake, a little port near Dublin. Allen, in his life of Campion, describes the history as "very truly and eloquently" written; and though the author gave it up for lost after its seizure by the searchers, it wandered "in mitching wise," says Richard Stanihurst, through various hands until Holingshed published it in the second volume of his *Chronicles* in 1586.¹

p. 52

"Passingly beloved for his singular graces," as Allen describes him, the extraordinary winning charm of Campion's character was combined with an eloquence which, in Simpson's words—

"Succeeded beyond that of all contemporary rivals in transfusing the vigour and polish of Cicero into a language that was only struggling into form a power which appears to have swayed all who listened to him."

p. 20

1570-71

His brilliant gifts had aroused the interest of Cecil, who had "invited him with many hopes and promises to follow the course of his early success; and who remarked to Campion's pupil, Stanihurst, upon hearing of his departure from England—"It is a very great pity to see so notable a man leave his country, for, indeed, he was one of the diamonds of England."

It is no wonder that such a man as this, on arriving at Douay, should have made his way straight into the heart of hearts of William Allen: nor that the whole college should have succumbed to the charm that had held the wider field of Oxford. After a year's study, comprising "many exercises carried on," writes Allen, "both in house and public schools," Campion proceeded bachelor of divinity, received minor orders, and was ordained sub-deacon. Allen also employed him as a professor.

In 1571 the number on the foundation approached a hundred, of whom eight or nine were doctors, or licentiates of divinity.

¹ Simpson, p. 59. Campion's *History* was republished in Sir James Ware's *Ancient Irish Histories* in 1633.

Some lived at their own charges, some were temporary guests, among whom, as time went on, not a few were English heretics and schismatics—as those were called who outwardly conformed, while remaining Catholics at heart—come to Douay to see their friends, or to have their doubts resolved, and to be instructed in the Catholic religion : “ even heretical ministers and preachers,” wrote Allen to Dr. Vendeville. It may be imagined what miracles of tact, what imperturbable patience, and how deep and intuitive a knowledge of human nature and experience of men, must have been exercised by the head of so various a company—from ex-heads of houses and deans and canons of cathedrals, men accustomed to rule and be obeyed, down to the poor students maintained at the common charges of the seminary ; none being rejected, writes Humphrey Ely “ had they money or had they none, brought they commendations or brought they none.” Allen’s rule was in the strictest sense a personal one, loyally and ably seconded by his “ right hand ” Dr. Bristow, and the other men on whom he conferred the various charges of the College. By one and all he was called not only “ our Moses,” but *Pater Patriae*, and “ the man upon whom all depends.”

Brief Notes,
p. 212

When, at the end of the year 1573, Edmund Campion, oppressed in mind and conscience by the “ continual cogitation,” as Allen wrote, “ of that schismatical order of English deaconship which he had taken—so that no counsel of learned friends would give him satisfaction ”—determined to leave Douay as a pilgrim to Rome, and there enter the Society of Jesus, the loss of his most promising subject wrought no diminution in the affection of the great founder of the English seminary. Too large-hearted and far-seeing to be swayed by petty jealousies—although he no doubt numbered among the learned friends who counselled Campion to remain—neither in his case, not at any future time did Allen attempt to prevent any of his students from entering religion, though sometimes at the cost of losing their much-needed service in the cause for which he lived and laboured.

Meanwhile Allen’s fame had reached Rome : all the Catholic bishops in England were now dead, except Archbishop Heath,

1570-1

and Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, and they were kept under such strict supervision, that they could only exercise their episcopal functions secretly, and with great difficulty. Pope Pius V, in the spring of 1572, therefore determined to constitute some one with authority to delegate the necessary powers to priests who might be sent from the Seminary to the English mission, and he chose Dr. Allen as the fittest person to exercise that responsible office. Accordingly he conferred upon him all the necessary faculties for this purpose.¹

During the following year, Allen had the joy to receive as a student under his roof, his near connection and most intimate old friend, Vivian Haydock, who is set down in the *Douay Diary* as *nobilis, viduus*. Haydock had kept the resolution he had imparted to Allen, during the latter's visit to Lancashire, that as soon as his eldest son was old enough to take over Cottam Hall and the estate he would become a priest and devote himself to the cause of the Church in England. The time had now come, and his eldest son was married to a daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton, Lord of Hoghton Tower. With Haydock, came his second son, Richard, now about twenty years of age; and his last-born, George, the future Martyr, also came to Douay, either at the same time, or shortly afterwards. Vivian Haydock's departure from home is thus alluded to in the before-quoted ballad of the *Blessed Conscience*—

“ And as I went, myselfe alone,
Then came to my presence
A frende, who seem'd to make grete moan,
And sayde, ‘ Goe, gett yo hence,

For in this land yo have no frende
To kepe your conscience.’ ”

Many of the “ choicest wits,” in his own words, did Allen invite from the two Universities, “ though many,” he added, were “ flocking to us of their own accord.” To the more

¹ “ Per eundem Pium V. . . . Alanus omnibus his missionibus praefficitur cum omni potestate spirituali ac ministeriali in tali causa necessaria.” *MS. in Arch. dioc. Westmonast.*

learned heretics were letters written by his direction, notably ¹⁵⁶⁶⁻⁷³ Campion's famous letter to Cheney, Bishop of Gloucester,¹ and, in recounting these doings to Dr. Vendeville, Allen says—

“ We likewise invited from England some of the elder priests who had been ordained many years before, and were labouring in the Lord's vineyard, but were insufficiently instructed for the necessities of the present time in all the duties of religion and the Church's censures. This we did that they might receive, while with us, an ecclesiastical training and a somewhat more appropriate instruction, and then return to the holy work on which they were engaged.” ²

¹ Simpson's *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 509.

² Dr. Allen to Dr. Vendeville, 16th September, 1580.

CHAPTER VI

Vit Alani

NICHOLAS FITZHERBERT did not exaggerate when he wrote that they were weighty matters of State which prevented Pope Pius V from receiving Dr. Vendeville and Allen on their visit to Rome at the end of 1567. The task of enforcing the decrees of the Council of Trent was in itself sufficiently onerous, yet to it were added the grave and vital questions of the ever-increasing encroachments and depredations of the Turks in the east, and of the religious conflicts in the north of Europe. How to rid Christendom of the infidel and the heretic, or at least to keep them in check, was the problem which the energetic Dominican Pope set himself to solve. In the first he was to succeed : in the latter lamentably to fail, so far as the chief object in view was concerned—the re-conquest of England to the obedience to the Holy See.

One of the earliest State papers, drawn up by an unknown hand before Elizabeth had been many weeks on the throne, was the very instructive “ Device for the alteration of Religion, which shall be attempted at the next Parliament.” The astute author first sets down “ the dangers ” :—the anger of the Pope, who will excommunicate the Queen and give the realm as “ a prize to all the princes that will enter upon it.” The French King, Henry II, will be encouraged to continue the war, “ and make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies but as heretics ” ; Scotland “ will have cause for boldness,” Ireland also will present difficulties, and “ many of our own will be very much discontented.”

“ What remedy for these matters ? ” he then asks. As to the Pope nothing is to be feared “ but evil will, cursing and practising.” To begin with England, all Catholic justices of the peace should be at once replaced by Protestants : a plan it was found impossible to carry out, as there were not sufficient of the latter capable of the office. The rest of the plan of campaign, which was to be executed to the letter by the Queen and her ministers, consisted in making peace with

France, whose lead would be followed by Scotland, and at the same time, wherever there were parties, to help their divisions, and "especially to augment the hope" of those inclined to the new doctrines. The rest of the paper considers the plan in detail.¹

It was to the interest of Cecil and the other ministers of Elizabeth, who were enriching their families with the plunder of the Church, to see to it that the above scheme was duly carried out : and when the new Pope, at the beginning of the year 1566, looked out upon the world of politics, it had been in operation for seven years, and its effects were everywhere to be seen. The civil wars in France, in the Netherlands and in Scotland were being nursed and fanned into flame by the more or less secret machinations and subsidies of the English Government, while the Queen was outwardly at peace with all three countries ; the Catholic powers, having their hands full at home, were thus debarred from making any attempt to support the interests of the old religion in England.

The most urgent and pitiable case at the moment was that of the young widowed Queen of Scots, desperately holding her own in Edinburgh Castle against her rebellious subjects ; and there is a touching letter to her from the Pope, dated 10th June, 1566, assuring her that he has prayed for her, and fearing that his prayers were not sufficiently meritorious, he has obtained for her the prayers of many great servants of God. He would willingly give his life and his blood to help her : he has written to the Catholic princes on her behalf, and, not being able to come to her in person, on account of his age and infirmities, he is sending the Bishop of Mondevi [Monsignor Vincenzo Lauro].

Mondevi was charged with a large sum of money to convey to the Queen, but he got no further than Paris, where Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in France, warned him that it would be very hazardous for the Queen to receive him in the then state of Scotland. The Pope wrote not only

¹ B. M. Julius, VI, 161. Strype's *Annals*, I, Append. 4. Tierney's *Dodd*, II, Append. ccxxx.

to the King of Spain, but to Charles IX of France, and to the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, exhorting them to rescue Mary from her rebellious subjects. Mondevi reports his audience with the French King and his mother, and how he said all that was possible, in the name of his Holiness, to persuade them to take up the cause of the Queen of Scots. Catherine de Medicis replied that were they to do so, they would irritate the Queen of England into openly assisting the Scotch rebels; but she promised to send Mary a part of the arrears of her dowry in France, and would send more, as soon as their own straits would permit them to do so.

Mondevi remained several months in Paris, but could do no more than send the accounts he received from Scotland of the christening of Mary's son in Stirling Castle on the 19th October, according to the rites of the Catholic Church—and of the subsequent murder of Darnley, which is the subject of two long and interesting letters, as the details of the tragedy gradually reached Paris. Then comes the following, dated Paris, 17th March, 1567—

“The enquiry ordered by the Queen [of Scots] has convicted the Earl of Bothwell and the Earl of Murray, both heretics: the one throws the blame on the other, and they are already in arms with a great number of followers, so that even the Queen's person is not safe.”

A few days later Mondevi has a conversation with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who blames Mary for not having taken his advice, and punished the few chief rebels at the proper time. Mondevi had written in the previous August to Cardinal Alessandrino that if Murray, Argyll, Morton and two or three others could have their heads cut off, all would be well; “but the Queen of Scots cannot be persuaded to this most just execution.” In his farewell audience with Catherine de Medicis, she begged him to urge the Pope to make a league of Catholic princes: he only can do it, as he is superior to them all. As for the others, each thinks himself in no way inferior to the rest. The first thing necessary is to undertake the subjugation of the Turks.

Mondevi's mission to France had failed; and then came in

quick succession Mary's forced marriage with Bothwell, her ¹⁵⁶⁶⁻⁷³ imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, her resignation of the crown of Scotland, and of her pretensions to the succession of England, to her infant son, who was crowned on the 31st July, 1567. "She has given him," wrote the nuncio in Venice to Cardinal Alessandrino, "two administrators, her bastard brother [Murray] and the Earl of Arran, who is a Catholic." ¹⁵⁶⁷⁻⁷³

The persistent statements that two-thirds of the people of England were Catholics at heart, gave Pius V the hope that they might deliver themselves from the yoke of Elizabeth, or at least obtain liberty of conscience at her hands by a general upheaval. An interesting list of the nobles of England, divided according to their religion into Catholics—Protestants favourable to the Catholics, and Protestants pure and simple, was sent to Rome at the end of 1567. In the first category figure thirty names, in the second, nineteen, and in the last, fourteen.¹

At the end of 1568 Elizabeth had been ten years on the throne, and the great questions of her marriage, and of the succession to the crown remained unsettled. Her policy as regards the first was doubtless beginning to be understood by clear-sighted men, while her attitude as to the second could but confirm and increase her control of her ministers and people. The heir presumptive to the throne was Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; and when that unhappy princess escaped from Lochleven and, after her defeat at Langside, placed herself—despite the advice of her friends—in the power of Elizabeth, the situation was thus summed up by the Venetian ambassador, Michele Soranzo, in his report to the Doge and Senate, upon his return from France at the end of 1568—

"Her pretensions to that crown, and the hatred the Queen bears ¹⁵⁶⁸⁻⁷³ her on account of having been treated as a bastard when she assumed the style and title of Queen of England, make it likely that she [Elizabeth] may one day rid herself of her with a 'determinative syrup, *un sciroppo risultativo*'; and so, from having been a subject for a comedy or a tragi-comedy, her life may end in pure tragedy." Roman Transcripts, 13th Sept.

¹ See Appendix D.

1568-73

With Mary a prisoner at Tutbury, the question of her rights became all the more acute, and deep resentment was stirred by the unwarrantable advantage taken of her by the English Queen. Those—Catholics and Protestants alike—who preferred her title to that of the Earl of Huntingdon or any other claimant, were inclined to urge her right the more insistently and openly, believing that the time of waiting was past.¹ The adherents of the old Faith rested their hopes of the restoration of religion upon the succession of Mary, a fact which could not fail to add fuel to the fires of religious animosity, as Cecil, and those whose interest lay in maintaining the Reformation, looked with dread to the possibility of her advent to the throne. Indeed, if Queen Elizabeth had ever inclined to forget her grudge against her young kinswoman, Cecil was ever ready to remind her of it, continuing to point out, as he had done, through the Council of which he was chief, at the beginning of her reign, that the Queen of Scots and the house of Guise were her mortal enemies: that it was “just and honourable” to aid the rebellious Scots.²

Nevertheless, in 1569, the question of Mary’s succession,

¹ Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon [1535–1595], was the eldest son of Francis, second earl, by Catherine, daughter and co-heiress of Henry Pole (Lord Montacute), eldest brother of Cardinal Pole. Through his descent on his mother’s side from Edward IV’s brother George, Duke of Clarence, he claimed, after Elizabeth, the succession to the throne, in opposition to Lady Catherine Grey and the Queen of Scots. Huntingdon had Puritan leanings, and strongly sympathised with the French Huguenots. He married Catherine, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and died without issue.

Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford [1539–1621], claimed the throne for his wife, Lady Catherine Grey, second of the three daughters of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife Frances Brandon. She was thus the great grand-daughter of Henry VII, and after the execution of her sister, Lady Jane, she stood, according to Henry VIII’s will, next in succession after Mary and Elizabeth. Her secret marriage with Lord Hertford in November or December, 1560, roused the anger of the Queen, who committed her to the Tower, where her husband joined her. The death of his wife in January, 1567–8 relieved him of part of Elizabeth’s displeasure, but he lived in retirement for the rest of his life.

² P.R.O.: *Dom. Elizabeth*, 23rd March, 1560.

and even of marrying her to the Duke of Norfolk, was debated in Council. At one moment Elizabeth appeared to look on the project with favour : at the next she hesitated and drew back with her usual cautious fear of committing herself to a distinct course of action. Don Gueran de Spes, the Spanish ambassador, who had lately succeeded Guzman de Silva, wrote to the Duke of Alva that the Duke of Norfolk and the other adherents of the Queen of Scots were busy trying to get her declared the Queen's successor : that Dudley, now Earl of Leicester, said he would be with them in the matter, and Cecil had declared he would not prevent it, " but these two are not trusted by the others," he adds. 1568-73
Spanish Papers,
1st Aug.,
1569

But Elizabeth had taken alarm, and the ambassador writes to the King of Spain a few weeks later—

" The Queen has declared her will that the Duke of Norfolk should not marry the Queen of Scots, notwithstanding that the Council had decided that the interests of the country would be served thereby. As the majority of the Council is on the side of the Duke in this, I think that certainly there will be, in a short time, great turmoils here." 1569-73
Spanish Papers,
14th Sept.

" All the North is ready," is his news three days later, " and only awaits the release of the Queen of Scots." But a stronger guard had been placed around the Queen, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke were arrested, and Norfolk gave in—" either," as Spes wrote, " to avoid the first fury falling upon his own head, or with the idea that his friends were not yet ready " ; he returned with a few horse to the vicinity of the Court, " where he is now detained. He has been interrogated like the others." *ibid.*,
17th Sept.

ibid.,
30th Sept.

Few responsible ministers of the crown ever played for higher stakes than did Cecil at this juncture, when he aimed at no less an object than the destruction of the next heir to the throne, at the very moment when Mary's position was on the point of being assured and proclaimed : to fail would mean his own overthrow, but to acquiesce in the decision of the majority of the Council would probably have brought down upon him the wrath of Elizabeth, with a sense of insecurity to himself which he was not the man to tolerate. The whole strength of his subtle genius and unscrupulous will were

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therefore bent upon his purpose, which was to be carried out not only with fearless and extraordinary capacity, but with a ruthlessness which considered no means too cruel or dishonourable for the attainment of its object.

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Had the Queen of Scots been released, there would have been no rising in the North: the Catholics would have taken hope and patience even to the enduring of their present position, and both they and the Protestants would have been content to see the settlement of the succession, with the hope of issue from a marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, whom the latter rightly claimed as belonging to the new religion. With their hopes dashed to the ground, the Catholics, especially those of the northern counties, were moved to try the issue of force; and it is plain that they asked for no more than that Mary's succession should be assured and religion restored. As Sir Cuthbert Sharpe well describes the situation—"The ancient Faith still lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts; and if the vessel was ever so little stirred, came to the top."¹

*Spanish
Fathers.
Sib. Jan.
1569*

The partisans of the Queen of Scots had been encouraged by the new Spanish ambassador, Gueran de Spes, who was a person singularly unfitted for his responsible position—a tactless, fiery enthusiast, he had begun to plot with the disaffected subjects of the monarch to whom he was accredited, from the moment of his arrival in her dominions. The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Arundel had won his heart by promising to return to the Catholic religion if a Spanish force were sent to help them; and his representations so won upon his own sovereign, as to spur Philip II to perhaps the promptest step he ever took with regard to English affairs. He wrote to the Duke of Alva, lieutenant of the Low Countries, to inquire into de Spes's scheme: if he found it feasible, he might carry it out, without loss of time by further reference to his sovereign, who would be greatly pleased by its success.

The responsibility thus thrown upon Alva, found him unprepared for so formidable an enterprise; and he appears to have doubted de Spes's information, and the reliability of the

¹ *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569.* Intro., p. x.

assurances of Mary's partisans, as conveyed to him through ¹⁵⁶⁹⁻⁷³ the ambassador. He wrote to Philip on the 4th April—

“Notwithstanding what Don Gueran writes, I am not yet convinced that they [the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel] ^{Spanish Papers} are not deceiving him.”

Alva remained unconvinced, and a state of paralysing mutual distrust ensued : he withheld aid for fear of treachery, and also on account of the disturbed state of the Netherlands ¹⁵⁶⁹⁻⁷³ and an exhausted treasury : the English malcontents hesitated to move until, in the words of de Spes, they should see the standards of Spain raised in their country.

Meanwhile the Pope was resolving upon the grave step of the excommunication of Elizabeth : his two predecessors had reached the limit of patient forbearance in their dealings with her, while on her part, the treacherous imprisonment of the Catholic Queen of Scots, next heir to her crown, was but the last of a long and heavy list of offences against religion and the Holy See.

In the still existing state of Christendom at that period, it would have been difficult, and probably a subject of scandal in Europe if the Holy See had permanently refrained from any censure of the English Queen, whose case was aggravated by her abandonment of the Catholic faith after having embraced and lived in it for several years, and having sworn to defend it at her coronation. Rome was still considered the supreme arbiter of kings—not only in the spiritual order, wherein emperor and peasant are equally bound to obedience—but by many as the source of the dignity and prerogative of all Christian rulers. The Holy See was in a sense the final court of appeal, an authority which, in modern times, society has attempted in a measure to supply by means of conferences, the tribunal of The Hague and other devices, and to which the greatest and astutest statesman of the second half of the nineteenth century did not hesitate to apply, at a grave crisis between his own empire and a lesser power. Had the principle been generally reduced to practice, wars between Christian countries would have been reduced to a minimum, and a sort of millennium would have been the result. In the case of England,

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it had been often repudiated, sometimes admitted, especially in the event of a disputed succession or change of dynasty, and, without going as far back as Henry II, King John, and Edward II, Henry VII, after the battle of Bosworth and his assumption of the crown, was careful to submit his realm to the Pope, receiving it again from him.

The right itself was based by different schools on three principal grounds—divine right, because all temporal power was derived from the Apostolic See: on the feudal system, based on the gift of Constantine, and which included all islands, as claimed by Adrian IV, an English Pope; and thirdly, on the ground of the necessity of his right for the independence and government of the Church.¹

One of the chief writers of the moment on the subject was Dr. Thomas Stapleton, perhaps one of the greatest theologians of his time, and whose opinion appears to have been shared by his intimate friend William Allen. He disclaimed any temporal suzerainty of the Pope over princes, except when they were hostile or detrimental to the Catholic Faith: then he might interfere—either indirectly through the people or Parliament by exciting them to throw off their ruler's authority, and dethrone him—or, if this did not succeed through want of power or want of will, he must take more direct means, and give the realm to some Catholic prince, or proclaim that the first man who shall conquer it may have it.²

Allen, moreover, as we shall see later on, was to appeal to the common law of Mediaeval Christendom as it may be found

¹ Bellarmine, and other divines of the sixteenth century, "tried to adapt the old system to the changed state of society as a means of protecting religion from absolute monarchs, whether Catholic, like Henry III of France, or Protestant, like Elizabeth. Hence they attributed the sovereignty to the people, subject only to the divine law which the Pope administers and expounds. This dictatorship was thus reduced to a supposed delegation of ultimate sovereign authority into his hands from the masses of Christian people, from whom the monarchs derive their titles." Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 515.

² Stapleton: *Opera omnia*, Paris, 1620, Vol. I, pp. 709-711. Simpson, p. 515.

in the decrees of the fourth Council of Lateran under Innocent III, in 1215— cap. 3,
de hæreticis

“ If a temporal lord, after having been required and admonished 1569-73 by the Church, shall neglect to cleanse his land from the defilement of heresy . . . let this be signified to the Sovereign Pontiff, that he may thereupon declare his vassals absolved from allegiance to him, and offer his land for seizure by Catholics. . . .”

- This decree, by its insertion in the *Corpus juris*, had become part of the ordinary statute law of the Church, and, in the sixteenth century, had not been abrogated by desuetude. Knox, II,
Intro.,
p. xxviii Moreover, it was a power “ which the Pope’s predecessors had claimed and exercised for centuries without reclamation from the European commonwealth of Christian states.”

This was the ground upon which Pope Pius V based his famous bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, dated Rome “ fifth of the calends of March ” [25th February, 1569-70]. Elizabeth, whom his two predecessors had addressed as “ Queen of England,” is called “ pretended queen,” and the successor of St. Peter, the Bishop of Rome, is declared to be appointed over all nations “ to root up and destroy . . . to plant, and to build ” that he may maintain in the unity of the spirit “ the faithful people bound together by the bond of charity, and present them unto their Saviour perfect and without loss.” After a brief recapitulation of Elizabeth’s offences, come the authoritative words—

“ Relying then on His authority who has placed us on the sovereign throne of justice, though unequal to the bearing of so great a burden, we declare, in the fulness of the apostolic power, the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic, and an encourager of heretics, together with those who abet her, under the sentence of excommunication, cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ.”

All Elizabeth’s subjects are absolved from their allegiance to her, and are commanded not to obey her “ monitions, mandates or laws ” under pain of being anathematised with her. ¹

¹ The Bull is printed in Camden’s *Elizabeth*, Vol. I, p. 183; in Tierney’s *Dodd*, Vol. III, App., p. ii; in Sanders’ *De Schismate lib.*, III, etc.

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p. 260

The Pope's chief advisers as to the state of England, upon whom he relied for information before drawing up the bull, were—besides Dr. Stapleton—Thomas Harding, Dr. Morton and Webbe, "simple men," writes Watson in his *Quodlibets*, "out of their positive divinity, who did mightily overshoot themselves divers ways." He moreover remarks that Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, the last surviving Catholic prelate, still alive in England, "was exceedingly grieved when he heard of" the bull.

Dr. Nicholas Morton, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, had left England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and retired to Rome, where he took his degree of doctor of divinity, and in 1563 had been appointed English penitentiary at the Vatican. Him the Pope decided to send to England early in 1569 with the important mission of declaring "by apostolic authority" wrote Sanders, in his *De Visibili Monarchia* "to certain illustrious and Catholic men" that Elizabeth was excommunicated and her subjects absolved from their allegiance. "By this declaration," he continues—

"Many of the higher classes were led not only to consult their own interest, but to consider by what means they could deliver their brethren from the tyranny of the heretics. And they hoped that all the Catholics would join them with all their forces in this pious design." ¹

When Pope Clement VII had, in the exercise of his undoubted duty, excommunicated King Henry VIII, he postponed the publication of the bull until the secular arm—the forces of the holy Roman empire and of the Most Christian King Francis I, which he had invoked—should be ready to seize upon the realm of England and enforce his decrees. As the secular arm never got ready, the bull remained permanently unpublished, and consequently of no effect as far as the King's subjects were concerned. The same sage course—with most probably the same effect—would evidently have been pursued by St. Pius V, but for the rash act of Felton the following year: Morton's mission being to make known the fact quietly, in the hope and

¹ Sanders: *De Visibili Monarchia*, p. 730 (fo. Louvain, 1571).

expectation that the chief Catholics would effect a general rising and depose the excommunicated Queen. 1569-73

Meanwhile the course of events in England had been guided by the genius of William Cecil. Well informed by his own spies, and by the perfect secret service abroad which Walsingham had lately organised ; as soon as all the threads were in his hands, he provoked a premature and foredoomed insurrection in the North. He had not hesitated, the previous year, to take the extreme step of confining de Spes in temporary detention in his own embassy ; and the chief Catholics within reach were arrested in such numbers that de Spes described the prisons as nearly filled with them, thus neutralising any move that might be contemplated before the precise details of any plot were clear. Cecil now met the danger with a promptitude not unmixed with alarm. He knew, as Sir Robert Sadler wrote a few weeks later, that there were " not ten gentlemen " in all the North of England " that do favour and allow of her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion." But he knew also that the leaders in the rest of the country were either in his power, or unprepared, and that the Spanish standards were not yet on their way to England. In the Queen's name, therefore, he commanded the presence at Court of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the chief leaders of the northern Catholics.

Dom. Elis.,
Add. XX,
No. 77

To have obeyed the summons would have meant imprisonment in the Tower and probable death : the Catholic lords considered that they had no alternative but to raise their followers, trusting that their example would be the signal for a general insurrection throughout England.

The disastrous tale is soon told : with an undisciplined, badly armed horde of horse and foot, variously estimated at from 5,200 to 12,000, the two earls took the field.¹ The standard of the Cross was raised, the Mass restored in all the churches, including Durham Cathedral ; the Bibles of the new version were either torn or committed to the flames, the

¹ Grindal, Bishop of London, in a letter to Bullinger, dated 18th February, 1570, gives the lower figure ; Pollini, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, mentions the higher, and more improbable one.

1569-73

property of the Bishop of Durham and that of all the ministers of the new religion was ransacked, "but nobody," wrote Grindal, "was put to death."¹ Northumberland issued a proclamation, in which he distinctly admitted the Queen's title, declaring that the rising was solely intended for the restoration of religion and the dismissal of Elizabeth's evil counsellors.² There was naturally no mention of the Pope's bull, as it was not published until the following February.

As soon as the Queen's forces of 24,000 men under Admiral Clynton, began to move against them, the two earls, cruelly disappointed by the quiescence of the Catholics in the rest of the country, and the non-appearance of the Spaniards, determined that resistance was hopeless, disbanded their forces and fled—Westmoreland, whose first impulse it had been to fight even against such tremendous odds—to the castle of Ferniehurst in Roxburghshire, and thence to the Netherlands. He was twenty-six years old.³

Northumberland, less fortunate, after leading a hunted life for some time, retired into Scotland, where he was seized and handed over, for a consideration of £2,000, to Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin, Governor of Berwick, in the following July. "The Earl of Morton," says Camden, "who had been befriended by him when he was himself in exile, sold him for money—*pacta pecunia*."

p. 266

The rising had begun early in November: by the 16th of December the rebel army was disbanded. "Thus," wrote Grindal, in the above-quoted letter, "was the rebellion suppressed within forty days, and without bloodshed, except that

¹ Grindal to Bullinger, London, 18th February, 1570: *Zürich Letters*, 1st Series, Let. 87.

² See Appendix E.

³ Charles Neville, sixth Earl of Westmoreland [1543-1601], eldest son of Henry, fifth earl, by his wife Jane, daughter of Thomas Manners, first Earl of Rutland. He succeeded to the title in 1563, and took his seat in the House of Lords in 1566. After the failure of the insurrection and his retirement to the Netherlands, he became colonel, in 1580, of a regiment of English refugees in the service of the King of Spain. He died at Nieuport on the 16th November, 1601. De Spes, in a letter to Philip II, mentions the fact that Lord Westmoreland desired to fight. *Spanish Papers*, II, p. 225.

500 of the rebels were afterwards executed, and many are still kept in prison awaiting a like punishment." Elizabeth's vengeance was complete and terrible, sanguinary to a degree which was repulsive even to the executors of her imperative commands; and she remained infinitely stronger than she had ever been before. Even Catholic Lancashire, under the prudent rule of its Catholic lord-lieutenant, Lord Derby, had refrained from courting disaster by joining the two earls, and Cecil's policy had triumphed. 1569-73

Among the captives awaiting punishment mentioned by Bishop Grindal, was the Earl of Northumberland. Held a prisoner for two and a half years in Scotland, until his betrayal *pacta pecunia* into Lord Hunsdon's hands early in August, 1572, his behaviour the whole time was that of a saint, extorting the unwilling admiration of his jailors. He spent his time, writes Pollini, "in vigil, meditation and fasting, preparing for the last combat. . . He spent great part of the day, and often the night in prayer." His noble wife, Anne, daughter of the Earl of Worcester, did her utmost to obtain his ransom while he was in Morton's hands. She arrived in Antwerp in August, 1570, to obtain funds and arrange a plan by which he might be sent into Flanders. All her energetic measures failed—"for Elizabeth could give a higher price," remarks Pollini. Northumberland was carried to York early in August, 1572, and his life was offered to him if he would abandon his religion. This he refused to do, and was consequently beheaded on the 22nd of the same month, "on a new scaffold," wrote Stow, "set up for the purpose in the market-place." He died, stoutly proclaiming his faith, and expressing his sorrow at having been the cause of the death of so many innocent men. "He ended his days by a glorious martyrdom," wrote Rishton in his continuation of Sanders, and as one of the English martyrs he was beatified by Pope Leo XIII 300 years later. p. 478
p. 678

¹ Thomas Percy, seventh Earl of Northumberland, beatified martyr [1528-72]. His father, Sir Thomas Percy, had taken a prominent part in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, and was executed at Tyburn on the 2nd June, 1537. The seventh earl was restored in blood by Mary, and nominated high marshal of the North. Upon Elizabeth's accession, he was much harassed by criticism, and in 1560

1570-3

In 1576, at Queen Elizabeth's request, Lady Northumberland was temporarily expelled from Spanish territory, and she died of smallpox in a convent at Namur on the 17th of October, 1596.

The insurrection had ended in fiasco, as, under the circumstances it was bound to do. Had it succeeded, the liberation of Mary and the recognition of her succession would have been secured, together with liberty of conscience for the Catholics. It was all the insurgents asked, and never was there a more peaceful popular rising. For the forty days during which the northern counties lay at their mercy, not a single drop of blood was shed, according to the testimony, as we have seen, of one of their chief enemies. Had it succeeded, the rising of 1569 might, in time to come, have found a Macaulay to glorify it in terms as sonorous and glowing—and perhaps as well justified—as those in which are rapturously extolled the acts and consequences of that successful conspiracy against the crown, which was to take place 119 years later.

Those partisans of the Queen of Scots and of the ancient faith who had taken no part in the northern rising, now looked for other means to attain their ends; they approached the Pope, as Gueran de Spes informs his king in a letter of the 18th January, 1569-70, with the request that his Holiness would publish a bull

“in some place whence its purport would reach here, absolving them from the oath of allegiance they have taken to this Queen, as she is not a Catholic, and calls herself Head of the Church. This, they think, would be desirable, and add prestige to their claims.”

The petitioners had evidently no wish that the bull should be published in England. The Pope launched it at Rome, as we have seen, on the following 25th February; and, according to Pollini, the Kings of France and Spain both declined to allow its publication in any part of their dominions, “no one wishing to provoke Elizabeth to enmity”: a fact which went far to prove how little the secular arm might be relied upon to put

resigned his office. He was created K.G. in 1563, but in 1565 was reported “dangerously obstinate in religion.” He married Anne, third daughter of Henry Somerset, second Earl of Worcester.

it into execution. Nevertheless, the fanatical enthusiasm ¹⁵⁷⁰⁻³ of John Felton, aided by the counsels of Pietro Berga one of de Spes's chaplains, moved him to the incredibly rash act of affixing a copy of the bull—which he is said to have obtained from Roberto Ridolfi, the Pope's secret agent in London—on the palace doors of the Bishop of London, Edwin Sandys, lately transferred from the See of Worcester. Immediately after the momentous act—accomplished on *Corpus Christi* day, 15th May—Berga fled the country, but Felton, who made no attempt to escape, was taken and put to death on the following 8th of August.¹

De Spes jubilantly informed Philip II of Felton's bold exploit, receiving the following answer, dated 30th June, 1570, which no doubt considerably surprised him. After stating that the copies sent by de Spes of the bull, and of a brief [dated 28th February, 1570] from the Pope to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, were the first information he had received on the subject, the King continues—

“His Holiness has taken this step without communicating with me in any way, which certainly has greatly surprised me, because my knowledge of English affairs is such that I believe I could give a better opinion of them, and the course that ought

*Spanish
Papers,
II, p. 254*

¹ John Felton, of Bermondsey Abbey, near Southwark, was descended from an old Norfolk family. His wife had been maid-of-honour to Queen Mary, who, in her last illness, had recommended her to Elizabeth. The latter had a great regard for her, as they had been playmates in childhood, and had given her a special licence to keep a priest in her house as long as she lived. Mr. Felton was a man of large property and considerable acquirements, but his temper was ungovernable, and his religious enthusiasm bordered on fanaticism. When the Lord Mayor, the Chief Justice, and the two Sheriffs of London, with 500 halberdiers surrounded Bermondsey Abbey, Felton opened the doors and bade them welcome, boldly confessing that he had set up the bull. He refused, even under torture, to disclose the names of his accomplices and abettors. On the scaffold, which was specially set up in St. Paul's Churchyard opposite the Bishop of London's palace, though he gave Elizabeth no other title than that of “pretender,” he asked her pardon if he had offended her, and, drawing a diamond ring, worth £400 from his finger, sent it to her as a present through the Earl of Sussex, who assisted at his execution. His plate and jewels, valued at £33,000, were seized for her majesty's use.

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to have been adopted than anyone else. . . . His Holiness no doubt thought that what he did was the only thing requisite for all to turn out as he wished. . . . But I fear that, not only will this not be the case, but that this sudden and unexpected step will exacerbate feeling there, and drive the Queen and her friends the more to oppress and persecute the few good Catholics still remaining in England."

Nicolo Ormanetto, who knew England well, writing on the same subject a few years later—25th October, 1574—when he was Bishop of Padua and nuncio in Spain, to the Cardinal of Como, Secretary of State, remarks—

Roman
Transcripts

"Pope Pius V was apt, as your Eminence knows, to do things without letting them be much known, so it is no wonder that he was little informed of certain things, and that he omitted Ireland when he deprived Elizabeth of the kingdom of England, which I afterwards explained to his Holiness, trying to get a remedy for certain disorders occasioned by that bull, which should never have been published, unless an army was going into England for the enterprise: holding the key of Peter in one hand, which was the deprivation, and the sword of Paul in the other. Publishing the bull in England without the conquest of the country, has caused great evils and the death of many Catholic men, and has made that woman a far greater enemy of the Holy See."

The premature publication of the bull in England was not attributable to Pope Pius V, but we find one of his successors—Pope Urban VIII—thus characterising the fact of Elizabeth's excommunication. On being urged by Cardinal Borgia, in 1641 or 42 to excommunicate the kings of France and Sweden, the Pope peremptorily refused, saying that though he did not doubt his own right to declare them excommunicate, as Pius V had declared Elizabeth and before him Clement VII the King of England, Henry VIII. Yet he asked—

"But with what success? The whole world can tell. We yet bewail it with tears of blood. Wisdom does not teach us to imitate Pius V, or Clement VII, but Paul V who . . . being many times urged by the Spaniards to excommunicate James [I] King of England, never would consent to it." ¹

¹ P.R.O.: *Foreign*, Italy (1641-65), quoted by R. Simpson, *Life of Campion*, ed. 1896, p. 518; and by Birt, *Settlement of Religion under Elizabeth*, p. 500.

As time went on, and the failure of the bull to effect a rising ¹⁵⁷⁰⁻⁷³ had produced its cruel but almost inevitable results, the unwisdom of the step appears to have been generally acknowledged. In the words of "silver-mouthed" Anderton—

"Many godly, wise and judicious Catholics, both of the clergy and others, were not a little grieved at this manner of proceeding, and wish'd rather (Cardinal Allen himself, Bishop Watson, and others) that it had been *wholly left to the judgment of God*; as we see well enough, it had been in other cases of this nature; neither in King Edward VI's time, nor against the kings of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Duke of Brandenburg, or other Protestant prince, was there ever any such sentence issued to this day (1613)." ¹

"The excommunication," truly remarks Dr. Jessopp, "was a blunder because it failed." At the moment, however, its failure appeared by no means certain; and although the Queen and her Council publicly derided it as a "bug to fright babes," and Elizabeth answered it in Latin verse in which she scoffed at the Apostolic authority, and declared that the "barque of Peter should never enter a port of hers," there can be no doubt that they were genuinely alarmed. Philip II was at that moment mustering a strong fleet in Spanish Flanders to convey his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, to Spain; and the English Government was by no means assured that its ultimate destination might not be the shores of England. ²

According to her invariable custom at a moment of crisis, Elizabeth took to her bed, remaining in her own room for days together, bewailing the vengeance that she thought had at last overtaken her. She turned in wrath upon Cecil, now Lord Burghley, crying out that to him alone were all her troubles due. Even Burghley himself was betrayed into momentary weakness, and actually began to prepare for timely flight with such portable property as he could gather, as the Spanish agent, Antonio di Guaras, reported to Secretary Zayas on the 30th June and 1st August, 1570.

*Spanish
Papers,
Vol. II,
p. 256*
ibid., p. 26

Burghley speedily recovered himself: every day that passed

¹ *Jerusalem and Babel*, by P.D.M., p. 530.

² A. Jessopp: *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 45.

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without bringing a response at home and abroad to the Pope's injunctions strengthened his position, giving him time to prepare the retribution, which was to be dealt out to the unhappy Catholics without hesitation and without mercy. The first measure, nevertheless, dictated by prudence, was to attempt to get the excommunication revoked. The Queen applied to Maximilian, Emperor-elect of the Holy Roman empire, to use his good offices with the Pope, which he did, but without success. Pius V's answer to his "dearest son in Christ, Maximilian, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Emperor-elect of the Romans," is dated Rome, at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's ring, the 5th January, 1571. After commending the zeal and good intention of the Emperor's letter of the previous 28th September, just received, the Pope declares that he can in no way revoke the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Elizabeth "at the demand of many good men and Catholics."

1571-73

Roman
Transcripts

"Why she makes such a stir about this sentence we cannot quite understand; for if she thinks so much of our sentence and excommunication, why does she not return to the bosom of the Church, from which she went out? If she thinks it of no consequence, why does she make such a stir about it? The condition of the times, urged with such affection and prudence by your Majesty, though it ought to have its weight with all considerate men ought not to have such influence as to make us do anything offensive to God, or derogatory to the majesty of this Holy See. As to not printing the published sentence against the pretended Queen, your Majesty understands that what is already done cannot be recalled or undone; as for its not being printed afterwards, that is altogether out of our hands. . . ."

When the Pope wrote his letter he had reason to hope that the deposition of Elizabeth would soon be accomplished. Although there had been no rising of the Catholics in response to the bull, there can be no doubt that the partisans of the Queen of Scots were to some extent influenced by it in the fresh attempt for her liberation and marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, which was now on foot. Through Roberto Ridolfi, an Italian merchant in London, who was the agent between the Pope and the malcontents, a fresh list of names, in cypher,

was sent to Rome early in 1571. It varied but little from the ¹⁵⁷¹⁻⁷³ list already quoted—the Catholics numbering thirty-three ^{*ibid.*} instead of thirty, and the Protestants sixteen instead of fourteen, while Leicester figures among the “doubtful.”

In the month of March, Ridolfi left England on a mission to the Duke of Alva, to the Pope, and the King of Spain. Mary's instructions to him are dated Sheffield, 16th February, 1571. He is to explain that there is no help for England unless her legitimate claim to the throne is acknowledged and upheld, both the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, who are claimants, being Protestants. Ridolfi is to lay before the Pope, the King of Spain and Alva her miserable state and the danger to her life from poison, which Elizabeth has already attempted several times through her jailers. The Queen asks for help for the enterprise of which the Duke of Norfolk is the chief. Although he has conformed, all his relations and servants are Catholics, and he has had Catholic tutors for his children. The present is a favourable moment, on account of the jealousy of many Protestant nobles against Hertford and Huntingdon, and also of that caused by the proposed marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou. They do not wish for a foreigner on the throne, nor the subjugation of England to France. Roman Transcripts

Elizabeth was in fact at this moment actively carrying on a marriage comedy with the young Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III, thus keeping France and Spain equally on the alert, equally anxious, at this critical moment, to do no overt act which should precipitate her decision. For this reason evidently, the Queen of Scots instructs Ridolfi, after stating that the Duke of Norfolk alone can effect the enterprise, to declare that nothing is known of it in France, not even to Mary's nearest relations. The Queen remits the time and manner of its execution to the special instructions of the Duke of Norfolk.

Finally, Ridolfi is to disclose to the Pope Mary's grief that one of her subjects, the Earl of Bothwell, had taken her prisoner, together with her Chancellor, Lord Huntly and Lethington her Secretary, and had carried her to Edinburgh Castle, keeping her there against her will, until he had obtained a pretended divorce from his wife, Mary's near relative ; and

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then compelling the Queen, against her will, to consent to him. She therefore entreats his Holiness to deliver her from this indignity either by a process in Rome, or by a commission in Scotland to the Catholic bishops and judges according to the memoir of the Bishop of Ross.

Roman
Transcripts

The Bishop of Ross, John Lesley, was Mary's ambassador at the English Court, and his memoir is among the Vatican manuscripts. It gives a detailed account of Bothwell's attack upon the Queen of Scots and her capture at Stirling, of the pretended divorce pronounced by a heretic bishop, and of the forced marriage, despite her tears and remonstrances. She now prays that it may be declared null and void ; and proposes that the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Dean of Glasgow should be the commissioners to inquire into the case.

Owing to the proposed alliance with Norfolk, it was essential to prove that Mary was free to marry ; and that her forced marriage with Bothwell was not binding in the eyes of the Church.

Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, recommended his envoy *hunc nuncium*, Robert Ridolfi, in a humble and submissive letter to the Pope, dated London, 20th March, saying that he will venture his life and his all to save his country from its present miseries.¹ His instructions to Ridolfi are of the same tenor as the Queen's. He declares that he speaks in the name of the greater part of the English nobles : that the Catholics are more numerous than the heretics, and that Hertford's and Huntingdon's Protestant enemies will support the Queen of Scots. As for himself, he has pretended to be a Huguenot,

¹ Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk [1536-1572], son of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, by Frances Vere, daughter of John, Earl of Oxford. After the execution of his father in 1547, he was taken from his mother and entrusted to the care of his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, who gave him as tutor John Foxe, the martyr-ologist. After his grandfather's release from the Tower on the accession of Mary, Foxe was dismissed, and the boy was placed under the charge of Bishop White, of Lincoln. Upon the death of his third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leybourne, after a few months' marriage in September, 1567, Norfolk was accepted as a suitable mate for the Queen of Scots by all her partisans in England.

so as to be able, at the proper time, to do good service to the Holy See: he is not moved so much by desire for his own advantage in marrying the Queen, as by the hope of saving his country. To Philip II he particularly mentions the proposed marriage between Elizabeth and Anjou, and asks for money and for troops—20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. The best place for landing would be Harwich, in Norfolk (sic), where he and his friends would suddenly find themselves, or, if Portsmouth harbour were preferred, he could get there equally well, with the same number of friends, and hold his own for some time against Elizabeth's troops "if the help is certain." Finally, he reminds the King that his states will never be at peace as long as Elizabeth supports his rebellious subjects, and that the enterprise ought to take place before the end of the summer.

Ridolfi arrived at Brussels early in April. The Duke of Alva listened to his proposals, but they did not induce him to modify his attitude of reluctant caution and doubt as to an expedition to England. His opinion was expressed, not to Ridolfi, but in a letter to the King, reminding him that in case of failure, the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk would assuredly lose their heads, and the last state of the Catholics would be worse than the first. If, however, the English Queen's person were first seized by the malcontents, or that she should die, "naturally or otherwise," Alva would find no objection whatever, as the affair would be quite on another footing, and his Majesty ought not to miss so fine an opportunity for the restoration of religion, and the future tranquillity of his own dominions.¹

At Rome, Ridolfi's mission was received with favour; the Pope wrote to Philip II exhorting him to do his utmost, according to prudence, and comforting letters were sent to Mary and the Bishop of Ross; the Pope expressing to the latter his pleasure at the assurances he has received from Lord Derby and his sons, Lord Arundel, Edward Lord Montacute and Lord Lumley. The nuncio in Spain was ordered to support Ridolfi's

Roman
Transcripts,
5th May

¹ *Simancas MSS.*, 823, cited by Martin Hume. *Two English Queens and Philip*, p. 309.

Roman
Transcripts,
11th May

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errand in Madrid, and to help him in every possible way—
“with all dexterity and secrecy.”

From Madrid, Ridolfi wrote to the Queen of Scots, and at greater length to the Duke of Norfolk, stating how well he had been received by the Pope, and by the King of Spain, who had promised to send a courier at once to Don Gueran de Spes, his ambassador in London, who would inform the Duke of the King's decision as to the carrying out of the affair; which must be enveloped in the greatest secrecy, especially on account of the Anjou marriage negotiations. The Duke is to act in concert with the Spanish ambassador. In the next sentence, however, though he knew it not, Ridolfi reveals that the enterprise has received its death-blow—

“The king knows of the retention of the Bishop of Ross, and the capture and confession—the too clear confession—of his servant; but I do not think that on this account his Majesty has given up hope of the success of the enterprise.”

ibid.,
June, 1571

A Flemish servant of the Bishop of Ross, Charles Baillie, had in fact been seized at Dover early in May, on his way from Brussels with letters in cypher to the Queen of Scots, the Bishop of Ross and the Spanish ambassador. Under torture the poor man confessed certain facts as to his meeting Ridolfi at Brussels and receiving the letters, of the contents of which he could give no account; nor could they be understood by his captors, as with the connivance of Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Portes, another packet of cyphered letters had been substituted for the originals, by the Bishop of Ross and the Spanish ambassador. In relating afterwards how greatly he regretted that the torturers had forced so much out of him, Baillie declared he would not have said as much as he did, but for Lord Burghley's giving him to understand that he knew much more of the voyage of Ridolfi than the other could tell him—which was probably the case, so accurately was Burghley informed by his spies. The Bishop of Ross himself was imprisoned, and under the threat of torture and death confirmed his servant's confession. Such an outrage upon an ambassador of a Queen Dowager of France was resented, and strong remonstrances made to Elizabeth by the French

ibid.,
11th July

ambassador, with the result that the Bishop of Ross was released.¹ The Queen of Scots was interrogated, and repudiated all knowledge of Ridolfi, and the Queen of England let it be known that she was aware of all that had passed between the Pope and Ridolfi.

We find from the despatches of the nuncio in Madrid, the Archbishop of Rossano, that notwithstanding this check, the possibility of carrying out the English enterprise was still entertained. The scheme has only been discovered in general, not in particular, and is not to be abandoned. Rossano is pleading earnestly with the King, who has told him in confidence that the Duke of Alva is against it, but that, although nothing can be done without him, Chiappino Vitelli has already been sent to Flanders to command the expedition in case Alva does not do so himself. In his anxiety for the enterprise, the Pope offered to appoint the commander, so that the King of Spain might not appear ostensibly in the matter; and as soon as he hears from Ridolfi that the Duke of Alva has changed his mind, and seems willing to take the affair in hand, Pius V instructs his nuncio to inform King Philip that the money he has furnished for the war against the Turk may be drawn upon, if Philip thinks fit, for the English enterprise.

Roman
Transcripts,
23rd Aug.

ibid.,
12th Aug.

ibid.,
24th Sept.

Alva had sent for Ridolfi to Brussels to get further information, but, as the latter found on his arrival, his opposition had rather increased than diminished, "owing to various reasons," reported Ridolfi to the nuncio, on the 8th of October—

"The chief of which is his desire to return to Spain; also, that the command has been given to Vitelli instead of to his own son, Don Federigo; so he makes a thousand difficulties, and says we must wait and see what happens to the Duke of Norfolk. He is fast friends with the Spanish ambassador in London, and will not let me write to the Bishop of Ross, nor to my friends in London, which seems strange."

ibid.

¹ John Lesley, Bishop of Ross [1517-1596]. In 1562 he was Professor of Canon Law at the University of Aberdeen, and was made Bishop of Ross in 1566. As a member of the Scotch Privy Council, he ordered Bothwell's trial for Darnley's murder. He joined Mary at Tutbury in 1569, and wrote his *Defence of the Honour of Queen Mary*, which was published in London.

1571-73

Ridolfi ends by asking to be recalled, as the Duke of Alva will not allow him to do anything.

Roman
Transcripts,
18th Oct.

ibid.,
16th Nov.

Then, stroke upon stroke, came evil tidings: betrayed by a servant, Higford, the Duke of Norfolk's secretary, was found to have put a cyphered letter in a bag of gold, both destined for the Queen of Scots; then, two of his servants, Barker and Bannister, were sent to the Tower, and by the Queen's express command, put to the rack. Higford, under torture divulged the cypher, and the Duke was arrested on the 5th September and committed to the Tower.¹ "Thus is destroyed," wrote the nuncio in Madrid to Cardinal Rusticucci, "the finest scheme that could have been desired." And again, a few weeks later, that he cannot console himself "that so beautiful an enterprise should have come to nought."

"The Pope was greatly grieved," writes Pollini; and, quoting from the lately published *Life of Pius V*, by Girolamo Catena, he adds that Philip II, speaking of the failure to the papal nuncio, Cardinal Alessandrino, wept with him, fearing that so fine an opportunity might never recur again.

P. 472

If this attempt against the heretic Queen had signally failed, it was not so with Pope Pius V's other difficult endeavour, the league of his own forces with those of Venice and Spain against the Infidel Turks. On the 7th October, 1571, almost before the news of Norfolk's arrest could reach Rome, was fought the great battle of Lepanto, one of the decisive battles of the world. Fought and won, despite the hesitating dilatoriness and the secret orders of Philip, the "leaden-footed."²

¹ Norfolk's trial for high treason took place in January, 1572, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 2nd June. He declared himself a Protestant on the scaffold, and that his pretended leanings towards Catholicism had been a political feint.

² "Don John's appearance in Messina was all the while eagerly looked for. He tarried, however, in a way that fretted his Italian allies almost past endurance. Their irritation would have been even greater had they known the trivial obstacles which Philip II, in his desire to hinder the expedition from getting under way, had placed in his brother's path. Philip, in reality, had no desire to attack the Turk. His heart was set on operations in Barbary, where he considered that a wholesale suppression of the Moors would further his



JOHN OF AUSTRIA

There is in the Vatican archives a short, eager, almost boyish letter of thanks from the twenty-two years old Don John of Austria to the Pope, for the supreme command conferred upon him of the league against the Turks. And when Michele and Marc-Antonio Colonna, commanders of the papal fleet, returned to Rome, Pius V sent his whole household out to meet them in solemn reception, so that they might "receive a part of the honour due to their valour."

1571-73
18th June
Roman
Transcripts,
19th Nov.

Men hoped that this great victory might have further consequences: that it might, in the words of the nuncio in Spain to the Cardinal Secretary, "cool people's minds with the thought that those leagued against the Turks may defend themselves against the Huguenots."

ibid.,
16th Nov.

In England, meanwhile, the untimely publication of the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* had filled the Catholics and the partisans of Mary with dismay. If they looked across the seas, neither help nor comfort was forthcoming—the three great powers, theoretically the executors of the Sovereign Pontiff's high behests, the secular arm by which his decrees should be enforced, far from obedience, showed disapprobation and made efforts to have the bull revoked; while France was not deterred from making marriage propositions to the excommunicated Queen. It is true that the propositions were a farce, as the Cardinal of Bourbon confided to the nuncio in France, but when Monsieur de Foix arrived in solemn embassy in London, to ask for Elizabeth's hand for Henry, Duke of Anjou, men could but accept the fact, and fear or hope for its consequences to themselves. Commerce went on as before between the Catholic nations and the Queen's realm; and the Catholics, in their bewilderment—except a few men of greater zeal who courageously courted a martyr's death—continued to obey the Queen—

ibid.,
2nd Aug.

"Either because they did not admit the legal publication of the

policy far more effectually than a triumph over Turkey. Secret orders were, therefore, given to Don John's chief officers and counsellors . . . to do all that in them lay to avoid a battle, and if possible to persuade Colonna and the Venetians to pursue a similar line of inaction." *The Navy of Venice*, pp. 258, 259: Alethea Wiel.

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Apostolic Letters, and saw that the neighbouring princes and the Catholic countries had not refrained from their usual intercourse with the Queen, or because they had no knowledge that the Letters were issued again and confirmed by the Pope who succeeded Pius V, who died soon after the first publication, or because they were afraid to stir, though they might give other reasons for their conduct.”¹

Pope St. Pius V died on the 1st May, 1572, and his successor, Cardinal Buoncompagni, was elected on the 13th of the same month, taking the title of Gregory XIII. A great civilian and canonist, the new Pope was the reformer of the Calendar.

The innate sentiment of personal loyalty in the English Catholics to their ruler was an important factor in their quiescence at this moment : as it was to prove at the time of the Armada, and still more strikingly seventy years later under Charles I. Moreover, they were now without even the sorry leadership of the Duke of Norfolk ; and in the whole malcontent body there was no one to assume the post of chief, or who could command the confidence of his countrymen. The Queen's Government, as was to be expected, lost no time in tightening the bonds around her Catholic subjects. Parliament met in April, 1571, and two bills were laid before it, one of which was a direct answer to the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, as its title shows—an “Act against bringing in or putting in execution Bulls brought from Rome,” under the penalty of death. Whosoever denied the Queen's title, or called her heretic or schismatic was declared to have incurred the penalty of treason ; and in order to put an end to all discussion as to Elizabeth's succession, a subservient parliament passed the most amazing Act that any legislature had, perhaps, ever made into law—no man might speak of any one as having a right to the throne during the Queen's lifetime, or to the succession after her death, unless that person *be her natural issue*. Such are the very words, “the natural issue of her body.”

13 Eliz.,
cap. II*ibid.*,
cap. I

Camden says that when he was a young man, he often heard

¹ Rishton : *Continuation of Sanders' Anglican Schism*, Chap. IX, p. 305.

it stated that the words were inserted in the Act by the Earl ¹⁵⁷¹⁻⁷³ of Leicester, in order that he might be able to put one of his own bastards on the throne.¹

Well might Pollini remark, upon this strange enactment, that it "placed in manifest danger and perpetual confusion the whole realm of England"; and, by decreeing that the Queen might be succeeded " (against the laws of the country) by a natural son or daughter, it gave it to be understood that such a being was in existence—*da ad intendere d'havere una cotal creatura.*" p. 474

The Act of 1563 had made it death to import Catholic books of controversy into England: the present Act went further, and made it a penal offence, incurring a praemunire, to "bring ^{13 Eliz., cap. II} into these realms any *Agnus Dei*, crosses, pictures, or beads from the Bishop of Rome, or by any person claiming authority from him to consecrate or hallow them." As not unfrequently happens, the effect of this statute was greatly to increase the veneration in which the English Catholics held "these sacred tokens." Knox, II, pp. 108, 120 And Dr. Allen, writing on the subject to Dr. Vendeville, some years later, remarks—

"So that those who scarcely knew of them before, now greatly desired to possess them, thinking to obtain thereby great comfort in their distress through the blessing of the Sovereign Pontiff, whom through the vexations of those wolves they had begun to love and reverence marvellously as their common father."²

¹ "Ut aliquem ipsius ex pellice spurium pro reginae sobole naturali Anglis tandem aliquando obtruderet." *Annales*, II, 241.

² *Allen to Vendeville*, 16th September, 1568-80: Knox, II, p. 60.

CHAPTER VII

1573

EVENTS in England, during the past three years, had weighed upon the fortunes of the infant Seminary at Douay. The uncertain alms sent from home, or given by the English exiles in Belgium suffered from the losses sustained by the collapse of the Northern insurrection and the new penal laws, which prohibited the sending of money from England to the exiles abroad, on the plea that they were rebels against the realm. The revolutionary movement in the Netherlands had also inflicted injury and loss upon the English exiles.

Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burghley aimed at the extinction of the Catholic faith within the Queen's realm : William Allen was set upon preserving it, and he won. At the Easter ordination at Brussels, in March, 1573, he presented four of his students, Bristow, Gregory Martin, Ford and Robinson for holy orders, including the priesthood. They were the first-fruits of the training, which Allen himself has, as we have seen, described, which was to make them athletes of Christ, martyrs if need be, the instruments to counteract the destructive forces allied against the ancient Faith. The Church in England has been truly likened by a modern writer to the Church of the Catacombs—the stream was often forced underground by the great obstacles set in its path ; but it never ceased to flow, and emerged at last, a living water and incorrupt.¹

1573-75

In the following year, 1574, six more were ordained, and the

¹ " It may be said that no country, with perhaps the single exception of Ireland, can boast so glorious an array of martyrs since the days of the Catacombs. The persecution in which they suffered is remarkable for its duration as well as its violence. It commenced in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII, and endured with little intermission for about a century and a half, until, in 1681, the martyrdom of Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, at Tyburn, closed the long list which had begun by the execution of the three saintly Carthusian priors and their companions on May 4th, 1535." Thos. G. Law : *Calendar of English Martyrs*, Preface. Oliver Plunket was pronounced Venerable by Pope Leo XIII in 1886.

first of the long line of missionary priests were sent into Eng-¹⁵⁷³⁻⁵land :—they were Lewis Barlow, who was to end his days, after many labours, a prisoner in Wisbech Castle, Henry Shaw, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and Martin Nelson. Thomas Metham, who had merely come to the College to receive faculties, also passed over into England. He, too, was to die in Wisbech, after seventeen years incarceration, in 1594. They went as auxiliaries to the aid of the Marian priests, who were secretly moving about the country in the exercise of their office, or established in the houses of the great nobles—as yet exempt from the intrusion of the priest-hunters.

It is difficult to estimate the number of the "old priests"; but deducting those in prison, there were probably between 300 and 500 still on active service. Of the bishops, only Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, detained a prisoner in his house at Cobham, and Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, a prisoner in the Marshalsea, were still alive.¹

There had consequently been no public ordinations of priests during the past thirteen years: none, in fact, except those which appear to have been secretly administered by incarcerated bishops, with the connivance of their keepers, and of which no record remains.²

Of the life that lay before the missionary priests, we have an interesting account from Allen's own pen, in a letter written a few years later, dated Cambray, 10th August, 1577, to Father Maurice Chauncey, formerly of the Charterhouse at Sheen, and at that time prior of the English Carthusians at Bruges. After saying that the priests in England "need to pray instantly and fast much, and watch and ward themselves" in the difficulties of their position lest "while they labour to save others themselves become reprobate," he continues—

"I could reckon unto you the miseries they suffer in night

¹ The Archbishop of York died at Cobham in 1579. Bishop Watson died in prison at Wisbech, 27th September, 1584, at the age of seventy-one. Dodd calls him the chief superior of the English Catholic clergy.

² "Exceptis paucis valde quos furtim in ipso carcere chrismate inungebant": *MS. Rationes*. Archives English, Chapter F., ii, 609. Bishop Watson, as far as his confinement would permit, exercised his episcopal functions.

1573-5

journies in the worst weather that can be picked, peril of thieves, of waters, of watches, of false brethren; their close abode in chambers as in prison or dungeon, without fire or candle lest they give token to the enemy where they be; their often and sudden rising from their beds at midnight to avoid the diligent searches of heretics; all which and divers other discontentments, disgraces and reproaches they willingly suffer . . . and all to win the souls of their dearest countrymen, which pains few men pity as they should do and not many reward them as they ought to do." ¹

The difficulties of the situation when Lewis Barlow and his companions set foot in England, were aggravated by the impression still fresh on men's minds, of the massacre on St. Bartholomew's, Day in Paris two years previously [24th August, 1572]. That terrible, but unpremeditated act of slaughter, although generally looked upon abroad as an incident consequent on the late civil wars, and as an act of reprisals for the many atrocities committed by the Huguenots, served to confirm among the Protestants in England the false reports industriously spread of a Catholic conspiracy for their destruction; and it was seized upon by Burghley and the other enemies of the Queen of Scots as a fresh and strong argument for putting her to death. ²

Roman
Transcripts,
6th Sept.,
1572

On the other hand, the death of Coligny the dread Huguenot leader, was considered a matter for congratulation by the friends of the Royalists of France:—The Bishop of Nicastro, nuncio at Venice, writing to the Cardinal of Como, papal Secretary of State, that he rejoiced with him "at the good news of the death of the Admiral."

1574-5

Another difficulty confronting Allen's missionaries was the situation of the English Catholics with regard to the

¹ Knox, I, p. xiv. Prior Maurice Chauncey died at Louvain on the 23rd July, 1581. He is mentioned in a list of English exiles in the Low Countries sent to London about the year 1575: "There is a priory by Bruges whereof is prior one called Chasy, who ever since the quene's raigne hath been here prior. He is a great stay unto many English papists." *Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. CV, No. 10: Knox, I, p. 300.

² The death of Mary was advised by Sandys, Bishop of London, on the 5th of September. "Forthwith to cutte off the Scottish quene's heade: *ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.*" Ellis, 2nd Ser., iii, 25.

excommunication of the Queen. Pope Gregory XIII had confirmed the sentence of his predecessor, but that confirmation had not been published in England; and with regard to the bull of St. Pius V, the plain man among the Catholics may have been puzzled to know whether he stood within the papal censures or not. As a matter of fact he did not—for the non-execution of the sentence of deposition had resulted in leaving Elizabeth Queen *de facto*, though no longer *de jure*; and as such, so long as she retained the crown, her Catholic subjects were not only permitted, but bound in conscience, to obey her enactments and recognise their validity, provided they were not in themselves unjust. The reason of this was that the good of the people imperatively demands that the organisation of the State should continue unbroken, and anarchy be kept at a distance.¹ A series of questions had, moreover, been sent to Rome in 1573 concerning the bull, to which the principal answers were as follows:—No. 3. No one is bound to obey the excommunication and precept to his own grave peril, or danger to his life. 4. The precept and obligation being for a special time and place, in the hope of the recovery of that kingdom: when the occasion has passed, and the hope is frustrated, the precept becomes void with time, and the obligation ceases in consequence. Catholics may obey the Queen in all civil matters, in all conscience, and may co-operate in all just things. 6. They may call her Queen, etc. 8. Catholics cannot in conscience fight against those who would put the bull in execution. 10. It is not lawful for any private person (unauthorised by authority, or not wearing uniform) to slay any tyrant whomsoever (*Cons. Const.*) unless such a tyrant, for example, had invaded the country in arms.²

Roman
Transcripts,
Dec. (?),
1573

This is the teaching of theologians with regard to an usurper; but it was not until several years later and then at the request of the Jesuits—Fathers Campion and Persons—that Gregory XIII made the matter quite plain to his English children, by

¹ Lessius: *de Jure et Justitia*, lib. 11, cap. 29, dub. 9. Knox II, pp. xxviii, xxix.

² See Appendix F.

1574-5

issuing a rescript, dated 11th April, 1580, which was a modification, or rather an explanation of the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. By it, he declared " that the bull should always bind the Queen and the heretics, on the other hand that it should in no way bind the Catholics, as things stood, but then at length, whenever it might be possible to effect some public execution of it."¹ The reason of the long delay in the publication of this important rescript, no doubt lay in the hope that the deposition of Elizabeth and the restoration of the faith in England might be speedily effected. Gregory XIII was as keen as had been his predecessor to see the scheme brought to a happy issue; and the Vatican archives contain many and various proposals as to how it could be done, and by what means the great Powers could be induced to exert themselves. The hand of the imprisoned Queen of Scots was the subject of much diplomatic correspondence, almost rivalling the amount of discussion on the matrimonial projects of Elizabeth herself: while the natural jealousy of France and Spain, neither of which could brook the thought of a member of the other house becoming King-Consort of England, had its old paralysing effect upon the supporters of the cause of Mary and the Catholics.

Ormanetto, Bishop of Padua, who had succeeded the Archbishop of Rossano as nuncio in Spain in August, 1572, was, with his intimate knowledge of England and the English, the most clear-sighted foreign politician of his day. In reply to suggestions from Rome, which he had been ordered to make to the King of Spain, he wrote to the Cardinal of Como that it would certainly be a good thing to give England to the Queen of Scots, and to bring her infant son to Spain, where he could be brought up a Catholic, and married to an Infanta. The difficulty would be that the Scotch and French might not approve of the boy being brought to Spain; but the Cardinal of Lorraine might effect it owing to the ancient amity between the two nations. According to his own knowledge, Ormanetto surmises that the invasion of England would not present many difficulties: there is not much money, there are few troops

Roman
Transcripts,
18th Sept.,
1574

¹ Butler's *Historical Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 366, note. Knox, II, p. xxix.

and no fortresses : there are dissensions between the Catholics ¹⁵⁷⁴⁻⁵ and heretics. The real hindrance lies in the differences of humour—Englishmen cannot brook the interference of foreigners, as the King of Spain's own experience has taught him ; they could not be induced to crown him King of England, for all the Queen desired it and the articles of the marriage treaty stipulated it. An indubitable proof is the case of Calais, which, sooner than admit Philip within the fortress for fear that it might remain in his possession, let itself be miserably lost, the succour from England not arriving in time owing to contrary winds. Between France and Spain there is a great and permanent jealousy, so that it is not likely that Spain would approve of giving the crown to Anjou. A German prince [there had been a question of the Archduke Ernest of Austria] would be more likely to be tolerated by the English : he would be a long way from his own country—but best of all would be for an Englishman to marry the Queen of Scots, and to be made king. Ormanetto does not go on to suggest what Englishman should be thrust into the place of the decapitated Duke of Norfolk.

The English exiles in the Low Countries, on their part, were getting impatient : they approached the new Pope with petitions showing that all their bishops in captivity in England were now dead, save only two, and expressing the hope that some one "will go and reduce England to the unity of the faith." They say nothing as to how it is to be done, but leave it to the Pope. Roman
Transcripts,
10th Aug.,
1572

Another petition, signed by "A. [Anne] Northumberland," the widow of the leader of the Northern insurrection, Maurice Chauncey, prior of the Carthusians, Leonard Dacre, Christopher Neville and Francis Englefield, dated Brussels, 22nd, February, ^{*ibid.*} 1573, was addressed to Cardinal Morone, protector of the English on behalf of Nicholas Sanders, D.D.—"His great qualities are known to his enemies, so our commendations are not needed." The petitioners remind Morone that there is now no English Cardinal [Reginald Pole had died fifteen years previously] and they entreat him to recommend Sanders to the Holy Father that he may be raised to the purple.

1574-5

Dr. Sanders had, in fact, been summoned to Rome by Pope Pius V shortly before that pontiff's death, and it was generally believed, with the intention of creating him Cardinal. Nicholas Sanders deserved well of the Holy See. He was the most learned and the most illustrious of the exiles whom William Allen had found settled at Louvain on his first arrival there in 1565, and he formed a firm friendship with him, which was only to end with Sanders' death.

One of the twelve children of William Sanders, of Charlwood Place, Surrey, high sheriff of the county in 1556, Nicholas, whose ancestors had been men of note in Surrey since the days of King John, was born at Charlwood in 1527, educated at Winchester, and at New College, Oxford, where he was made fellow on the 6th August, 1545, and regius professor of canon law in 1551. He resigned his fellowship in 1561, and left England with Sir Francis Englefield, of Englefield, Berkshire, who had been one of Queen Mary's Privy Council and Master of the Wards. Refusing the oath of supremacy, he was obliged to leave England in 1559.¹ Sir Francis was, as Sanders gratefully acknowledges, his chief support during the twelve years between his going abroad and the publication of his great book on the *Visible Monarchy of the Church*. On leaving England, Sanders made for Rome, where he got his degree of doctor of divinity and was ordained priest by Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph. There he became known to the great Cardinal Hosius, who took him with him as theologian when he went as legate of the Pope to the Council of Trent, and kept him in his service during his subsequent mission in Poland, Prussia and Lithuania. Released from attendance on the Cardinal, Sanders went to Louvain, and was made regius

¹ In 1564, Sir Francis Englefield was outlawed, and in 1586 was attainted and convicted of high treason; all his manors and vast possessions declared forfeited to the Queen. The manor and estate of Englefield, which Camden states was in possession of the family in the second year of King Egbert, A.D. 803, were thus alienated and transferred to the Crown. The King of Spain allowed him the same pension he had received as Privy Councillor in Mary's reign. He was assiduous in his labours for the Catholic cause, and a great friend of William Allen. He died in 1596.

professor of theology in that University. There he completed¹⁵⁷⁴⁻⁵ his great work, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*, Lib. viii, printed in 1571, by John Fowler, himself an exile, who had married a daughter of John Harris, once secretary of Sir Thomas More.

By this work Sanders established his lasting fame as an historian and controversialist, "held in honour among all people except his own," truly remarks David Lewis in the preface to his translation of Sanders' later work on the *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*. The *Monarchia*, written in Latin, went through several editions, being reprinted in 1578, 1580, etc.; it elicited answers from Acworth, Jno. Bridges, Bishop of Oxford, and others, but its veracity has remained intact. It has shared with Sanders' other great work the scurrilous railing and obloquy of his opponents; but no statement it contains—with the sole exception of the allusion to the rumoured "Nag's Head Ordination"—has ever been disproved, or called into serious doubt; while the allegations of writers by whom he was so violently attacked have been generally, if not universally, shown to be false, by the more impartial investigations of the past half-century.¹

Of stainless character, he whom Lord Burghley in his *Execution of Justice* called "a lewde scholar," was honest, fearless and without respect of persons. "His writings," says Lewis, "are grave, solid and learned, without conceit or affectation, showing the simplicity and directness of his

¹ The *Anglican Schism*, first published in 1585, went through fifteen editions in ten years, and the total number was more than double this. It formed the basis of every Catholic history of the English Reformation, but was received with a torrent of denunciation and declared to be a pack of lies by Mason, Burnet, Strype, Heylin, Camden, and after them by Froude. Recent historians, however, have given full justice to its accuracy and honesty; for, in the words of T. G. Law, "in almost every disputed point, Sanders has been proved to be right, and Burnet wrong" [*Dic. Nat. Bio.*]. With regard to the question of Anne Boleyn's parentage, often declared a baseless calumny invented by Sanders, Mr. Lewis shows that it was a subject of discussion and comment in England, when Sanders was six years old, and before he could either read or write. *Preface to Translation of Rise and Growth of Anglican Schism*.

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nature." In 1573 Sanders went from Rome to Madrid, the fact being duly notified by the English agents to Lord Burghley.

Roman
Transcripts
4th Sept.,
1573

We see by a letter of the Cardinal of Como to the Bishop of Padua, that Sanders had brought messages and plans from "the exiled nobles" in Flanders, which Padua is to support, when they are laid before Philip II, together with the brief committed to the care of Dr. Sanders by Gregory XIII. These plans, if Philip will enter into them, "would not only result in the good of religion and of England, but the safety of his own States." That the dilatoriness and indecision of the King of Spain was beginning to exasperate the Court of Rome, is clear from a previous letter from Como to Padua, with respect to a new league against the Turk. Ormanetto is to go on mentioning it from time to time, more as a matter of duty, than in any hope of coming to a solution—"as it is clear that they give us nothing but words—sending us from Herod to Pilate."

ibid.,
10th Aug.

1574-75

How much Allen was concerned with the political plans and aspirations of his Catholic countrymen at this period we know not, but from his intimate friendship with Englefield and the rest, and the nearness of Douay to Louvain and Brussels, it appears likely that he was fully conversant with what was going on, although he took, as yet, no active part in political matters. His labours, so far, with regard to his country, were entirely spiritual. On the 30th August, 1575, Pope Gregory XIII, by a brief which is still extant, conferred on him very extensive faculties, empowering him to absolve, but only in the interior forum, all English persons, both in and out of England, who could not conveniently confess except in English, from all sins and censures, however strictly reserved, and to dispense them from all irregularities contracted by performing ecclesiastical functions while under censures. The same brief authorised Allen to communicate these faculties to such priests as he might judge fit, to be exercised by them within the realm of England.¹

¹ *Archives of Old English Chapter*, fol. 2, 457: Knox, I, p. xxxiii.

The pecuniary needs of his College had moved Allen, a few ¹⁵⁷⁴⁻⁵ months previously, to have recourse to the munificence of the Holy See. He addressed a letter of supplication to the Pope, enclosing in it testimonials from the University of Douay and from the Jesuit Fathers of Anchin College, certifying to the great work for souls accomplished by the seminary.¹ At Rome, F. Everard Mercurianus, the successor of St. Francis Borgia as general of the Society, added the support of his influence, as we find from a letter addressed to Father Edmund Campion at Prague, by his dear friend, Gregory Martin, dated from near Douay, Vigil of St. Thomas the Apostle, 1576. The same letter gives a joyful picture of the changes wrought in the college by the papal pension of 100 gold crowns a month, which we must multiply by ten to get its equivalent at the present day. The same description makes us realise how great had been the previous straits of the seminary—

Knox, I,
App.,
p. 310

“It was a beautiful sight which I beheld when I was lately ¹⁵⁷⁵⁻⁶ there. In that refectory where in our time we sat down about six at one table, nearly sixty men and youths of the greatest promise were seated at three tables, eating so pleasantly a little broth, thickened merely with the commonest roots, that you could have sworn they were feasting on stewed raisins and prunes, English delicacies.”

At the mere report of the papal munificence, Martin writes, swarms of theological students and candidates for holy orders were “daily coming, or rather flying to the college.” In December, 1575, Dr. Richard Hall, formerly of Christ’s College, Cambridge, left Marchiennes College, where he had been regent, and came to live at the seminary. He began at Christmas to relieve Dr. Bristow of part of his duty, by explaining a chapter of the Old Testament every evening after supper. On the 30th January following, Dr. Thomas Bailey, late Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, arrived at Douay from Louvain, and at Allen’s request undertook the offices of vice-president and manager of the temporal economy of the college. He immediately hired a third house adjoining the other two,

¹ *Letter from Allen to Vendeville*, 16th September, 1578-80. Knox, XI, p. 59.

1575-6

which were now quite insufficient to receive the number of students. Dr. Bailey was followed from Louvain in July by his friend Dr. Laurence Webb, of Ely, who was also a graduate of Cambridge. Both of them lived and died in the service of the college, the former in 1591, and the latter in 1608.¹

On the 4th December, 1575, Dr. Allen, after first confiding the students to the care of Dr. Bristow, started on his second journey to Rome. It was a little more than nine years since that first journey—undertaken at a less inclement season—in company with Dr. Vendeville, when he had spent a whole winter in Rome, obscure and unknown, unable to get access to the sovereign pontiff. Now, he came at the call of the Pope, summoned to give his advice with regard to a seminary for English students which Gregory XIII proposed to found in Rome. Here Allen found his old friend Owen Lewis, who, as Archdeacon of Hainault and official of the Chapter of Cambray, had been of the greatest help to the infant seminary of Douay, as well as to many exiled Englishmen; his position enabling him to procure appointments for his learned fellow-countrymen.² Dr. Lewis had come to Rome some years previously as the official of the Chapter of Cambray on account of a lawsuit in which the Chapter was involved, and, the ability and tact he displayed attracting the notice of the papal Court, he received a pressing invitation to take up his abode in Rome. Gregory XIII appointed him *referendarius utriusque signaturae* and secretary of the several congregations and consultations concerning the secular clergy and regulars, offices which he subsequently held under Sixtus V.

Dr. Lewis was, therefore, now as well, or even better able to do good offices to his countrymen, and to Allen in particular; and when the latter departed from Rome in the summer of 1576, he left the prosecution of the scheme in his friend's

¹ *Douay Diary*, I, p. 7; *ibid.*, II, p. 100; Knox, I, p. xxxvi.

² Owen Lewis [1533-1595] was born of an ancient family at Malteayth, in the hamlet of Bodeon, Isle of Anglesey. He was educated at Winchester, and went to New College, Oxford, where he was elected perpetual Fellow in 1554. He left England for Flanders in 1559.

hands. Lewis, with the Pope's approval, opened some houses ¹⁵⁷⁵⁻⁶ near the Vatican for the reception of students from Douay, and of some who were already lodged in the English hospital in the Via di Monserrato—established in the year 1362, by John Shepherd, a London merchant, in lieu of the ancient Anglo-Saxon hospital for pilgrims and travellers in the Borgo Vecchio.¹ The superintendence of the establishment, at the suggestion of Dr. Lewis, was placed in the hands of Dr. Maurice Clenock, Bishop-elect of Bangor under Mary, and who was at about the same time appointed warden of the English hospital.

During Allen's stay in Rome, a warm letter of recommendation was written to the Cardinal of Como by Dr. Nicholas Sanders, then at Madrid, dated 30th March, 1576, interesting as showing the estimation in which Allen was held by so distinguished a man. After saying that Allen, a man of good ¹⁵⁷⁶ birth and distinguished for his parts, learning and piety, and the authority which these qualities confer on their possessor, was raised above the envy of every one, he continues—

"How naturally fitted he is for great undertakings appears among other proofs from the fact that he had scarcely earned at the cost of much toil and watching an income of 200 crowns a year, when, though himself a stranger and an exile . . . he began the work [of the English College] . . . and has already hospitably received eighty students . . . and formed them to perfection. . . . It would unquestionably be a great mistake if in all matters concerning our countrymen the chief weight were not given to the opinions of these two persons [Sir Francis Englefield and Allen] and I write this in the name of others as well as my own." ²

Sir Francis Englefield had accompanied Allen to Rome, arriving there on the 14th February, shortly before Sanders' departure for Spain, as we find from a letter of the Cardinal of Como to the Bishop of Padua, nuncio at Madrid.

Roman
Transcripts

The Pope had shown his esteem of Allen by conferring upon him a canonry in the rich Church of Our Lady at Cambray ;

¹ The name "Borgo" is a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *burgh* or *borough*.

² Theiner : *Annales*, II, 247.

1576

and there exists a brief, dated 18th July, 1577, in which his Holiness dispenses Allen for the space of one year from attendance in the Church of Cambray, except on certain specified days, on the ground of his duties at the seminary—Cambray was one day's journey from Douay.¹

Allen returned to Douay on the 30th July, 1576. He found everything in a flourishing condition. On the previous Ascension Day, 16th May, there were eighty English students in the seminary and sixty at the University. Four months later, on Michaelmas Day, the number of students in the colleges had increased to about 120. Besides which, many other persons had visited the seminary "from motives of piety and other good reasons," says a contemporary narrative—"Of what took place in the English College at Douay from Ascension Day, 1576, to 1st January, 1577."²

*Douay
Diary,
p. 7*

ibid., II,
p. 161

A fortnight before Allen's own departure from Rome, Vivian Haydock, who had lately been ordained priest, left Douay, on the 21st December, 1575, to return to England. We can gather some idea of the strict watch kept for the seizure of priests at the English ports, from the fact that Haydock appears to have remained three months without being able to get across the Channel—we find him again at Douay for a few days in the following February. His grave and reverend character, joined to his distinguished abilities caused Dr. Allen to appoint him procurator in England for the College; an office which was to make him in course of time, as soon as the Privy Council had become aware of the fact, the object of their unceasing pursuit, of his being tracked and hunted from place to place for the remainder of his days.

The flourishing state of affairs as they existed at Douay College on Michaelmas Day, 1576, was on the very eve of grievous change. Nowhere was the English policy of fostering rebellion in friendly States carried on more persistently or more successfully than in the Spanish Netherlands. Men, money and arms—with hardly a veil of secrecy—were ever at the

¹ *Archives of Old English Chapters*, fo. 2, 465: Knox, I, p. xxxvii.

² *Archives of See of Westminster*: Knox, I, p. 302.

command of the Prince of Orange and the revolted provinces.¹ 1576
 The infringement, under the stern rule of the late Duke of Alva, of many of the national liberties and privileges of the Belgians had, on the other hand, considerably weakened their affection for their sovereign, and had driven many to abandon themselves to the guidance of the Prince of Orange and the revolutionary party; although, as a whole, the nation retained its attachment to the old religion.

In the province of Artois, and notably in the town of Douay itself, the preachers of Calvinism and rebellion had made but little way, as several statutes show: such as the decree of "the three orders of Douay," on the 26th September, 1576, protesting their "attachment to the Catholic religion and their obedience to the King"; and again—a year later—their grant of 400,000 florins a month proposed by the States, "only on condition of keeping strictly to the ancient, Catholic, 1576-7 apostolic Roman religion with the authority of the King." Knox, I, p. xliix
 At the same time, the Spanish soldiery were regarded with abhorrence by the Belgians. That this was no uncalled-for sentiment we have the testimony of Don Louis Requesens himself, who had succeeded Alva as Governor of the Low Countries. "If the Belgians had loved the Spaniards, as fathers love their children," he wrote to Philip II from Brussels on the 11th December, 1574—

"Instead of having an innate hatred of them, the many mutinies of our countrymen which they see, and the harm which results therefrom to them, would be enough to make them abhor them."²

The intensity of the feeling evoked by the licence and haughtiness of the Spanish soldiery, was shown when certain troops—which had mutinied for arrears of pay, and were ravaging Flanders—were placed beyond the pale of the law by the Council at Brussels in July, 1576: the populace interpreted the decree to extend to every individual Spaniard in

¹ William of Nassau-Dillembourg had obtained the principality of Orange under the will of a cousin, who had it in right of his wife. He forsook the Catholic faith and founded the republic of Holland in rebellion against the King of Spain, who put a price upon his head.

² *Correspondance de Philippe II.* Gachard: Tom. III, p. 207.

1576-7

the Low Countries, who might accordingly be killed with impunity. With the King's authority at a low ebb, and the tide of revolution rising, the position of the English College at Douay and of the exiles there and elsewhere was becoming critical. They were, many of them, pensioners of Philip II, and all had met with a cordial welcome from him: it was almost inevitable that they should partake of the odium which was beginning to attach to every Spaniard in the Netherlands—"We are said to be partisans of the Spaniards, who are killed anywhere, and by anybody with impunity," writes the author of the contemporary narrative already quoted: and Gregory Martin uses almost the identical words in a letter to Edmund Campion from Rome, dated 22nd February, 1577—

Knox,
I, p. 303*ibid.*,
p. 315

There is in the Public Record Office an interesting list of "suche Englishe personnes as have ther aboade especially in the Lowe Countries and have stipends of the Kinge of Spayne," by which we incidentally find what was the retinue of a great lady—even in exile—such as Anne, Countess of Northumberland, the year before, at the instance of Queen Elizabeth, she was temporarily banished from Brussels and from Spanish territory on account of her political activities. She was served by six gentlemen, including her late husband's bailiff and his secretary, and by three gentlewomen, Mrs. Lassells, Mrs. Markenfelde and Mrs. Twyne. Her chief councillor is Dr. Knott, and four other gentlemen are set down as living with her.¹

ibid.,
I, p. 303

The suspicion in which the English were beginning to be held by the populace, showed itself after the sack of Antwerp by the Spanish troops on the 4th November, 1576. When the news reached Douay, every sign of cheerfulness on an Englishman's face was misinterpreted as a sign of rejoicing at the fall of that town, as an expression of triumph over the calamities of Belgium. But popular levity and inconstancy were not alone answerable for this change in the attitude of the people of Douay towards the English exiles. Like many similar movements in later times, it was artificially got up. The

¹ See Appendix G.

Calvinists, who formed the bulk of the Prince of Orange's ¹⁵⁷⁶⁻⁷ faction, were with good reason held chiefly responsible for it. Their detestation of the Catholic faith was intense, but it would have been futile to attack the English on that ground in so Catholic a town as Douay; so their secret agents were ordered to incense the multitude against them as partisans of Spain. Nor was the English Queen a stranger to the intrigue.¹ Elizabeth and her Council had at first regarded William Allen's Seminary with contempt. "They despised the poor beginnings of the seminary of Douay," writes Rishton in his continuation of Sanders' *English Schism*, p. 300—

"They thought, and they said too, that those who might be trained in the college, or even become priests, would, compelled by want or tempted by gain, return some day to England, accept a benefice, and minister in the Anglican churches according to the laws and teaching of the State. But if any of them should be obstinate, and refuse to conform, they would be able to do nothing, for what could a few poor and homeless men—such is the judgment of the world—do against their new church, which was under the protection of so great a Queen, guarded by such severe laws . . . and so effectually defended on every side? But before many years were over it was observed that very many young men, possessed of great gifts went . . . to the colleges beyond the seas, and came back . . . as priests to their native land, where by preaching, by their writings and example, by the ministration of the Sacraments in secret, by reconciling men to the Church, and withdrawing them from schism . . . they made a great impression upon innumerable souls. Then the Queen's advisers . . . began to bewail their mistake."

Elizabeth hoped, through the Prince of Orange and the States, to secure the destruction of an establishment which she had begun to hate and to fear. Nor was she without hope of getting Allen and the leading exiles into her hands, according to the evidence in contemporary documents.²

The first effects of the popular feeling aroused against the

Knox, I,
pp. 303, 315

¹ *Douay Diary II*, November, 1576, p. 113.

² In a treaty negotiated between Queen Elizabeth and the States towards the end of 1577, it was agreed that "the States should not suffer any English rebels to be in the Low Countries, especially when the Queen should have declared them to be such." Dumont: *Corps universel diplomatique*, Tom. V, Part I, p. 115. Knox, I, p. li.

1576-7

English College took the usual shape of domiciliary visits, searches for arms, and exact registers of every one of its inmates, who were called upon again and again to send in their names to the magistrates, and to renew their oath of fidelity to the University and the town. Reliable news arrived from England that assassins had been sent over to make away with the chief members of the seminary—news which the presence in the town of certain well-horsed Englishmen of sinister aspect served to confirm. Under these circumstances the number of students fell off: between Michaelmas Day, 1576, and the 1st January, 1577, it had fallen from 120 to forty-two, and in November, 1576, John Wright, B.D., and Edward Rishton, student in divinity, were sent to Rheims for the purpose of finding out what kind of reception the college might hope for from the University, if it were to remove thither. They brought back a favourable answer, but the difficulties attendant on a removal caused the project to be laid aside for the moment. It was, however, not considered safe for Dr. Allen to remain in the town, and he was persuaded by his friends to go to Paris—leaving Douay on the 8th November, 1576. The next day, a small party started for Rome, consisting of Drs. Stapleton and White, Gregory Martin and two others, while Dr. Bristow remained in charge of the College, where the exercises went on as usual, not being interrupted for a single day; and at the December ordinations no fewer than twenty students were advanced to holy orders.

*Douay
Diary,
II, p. 113*

On the death of Don Louis Requesens, Governor of the Low Countries, the 4th March, 1576, the Council of State had assumed the reins of government until the appointment of a new governor. The interim was a long one, as Don John of Austria did not arrive to take up the post until the following November, reaching Luxembourg on the 3rd, the very eve of the sack of Antwerp by the Spanish troops. It was only after protracted negotiations that the States consented to receive him, the terms agreed upon not being signed until the 12th February, 1577, and the brilliant and gallant young viceroy made his state entry into Brussels on the 1st May. The edict, which was termed "the perpetual edict" was

proclaimed at Douay amid great enthusiasm, all Catholics ¹⁵⁷⁶⁻⁷ and loyal subjects believing that an era of peace and prosperity was about to begin—the ringing of bells, the hymns, bonfires, and dancing till midnight proclaiming the joy of the people. On the very day of these general rejoicings—the 4th March, 1577, Dr. Allen returned to Douay from Paris after a three months' absence, to the great consolation of all the members of the seminary.

The return of quieter times brought back the students, and ¹⁵⁷⁷ between Lady-Day and the 24th June, 1577, the number in the college refectory was about 115 daily. But the hopes of peace soon began to vanish : a restoration of harmony between the sovereign and his people did not suit the plans of the Prince of Orange, nor, indeed, of the Queen of England. The former and the Calvinists, by fomenting the doubts of Philip II's sincerity, which had long been prevalent, succeeded in making it practically impossible for the new Viceroy to carry on the government, and on the 24th July, 1577, Don John of Austria was forced, for his own security, to withdraw to Namur.

This showed that serious differences had sprung up between the Viceroy and the people he had been sent to govern. Simultaneously, the English exiles were made to feel a return of the old suspicions, and we read in the *Douay Diary* under date of 27th June—

“ Dr. Bristow admonished us to be more guarded in our behaviour and, as far as possible, to walk less frequently in the streets, because the common people had begun again, as in the former troubles, to spread reports and excite murmurs against us.”

By the 6th August rumours were being whispered of a coming raid upon the college, and Allen being in Paris, Dr. Bristow, with Humphry Ely went to the governor of the town to inquire into the truth of the reports. The governor, a good man and favourable to the seminary, promised them protection ; and two days later the magistrates visited the college to search for arms. Finding none they “ went away, marvelling how such reports could have got abroad among the multitude,” writes the diarist. Dr. Ely had been called a traitor in the streets a few days previously. On the last

1577

1577-8

day of the year, he, with Drs. Bristow and Bailey, spent several days at Rheims, returning on the 11th January, 1578. They had probably been sent to make arrangements for the reception of the students in case the English should be expelled from Douay; Allen himself having spent a considerable time, alone and privately, at Rheims in the months of September and October. The event soon justified their foresight. On the 25th January, 1578, Don John of Austria, finding it impossible to come to terms with the States, which had by this time drifted into open revolt, issued a manifesto declaring that he was obliged to have recourse to arms. Six days later, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, gained a crushing victory over the army of the States at Gembloux. But in all those parts of the country which recognised the Prince of Orange as leader, the Calvinist faction of his followers gained the upper hand. They even rose to power for a short time in the Province of Artois, where their numbers were comparatively few. As soon, however, as they allowed their enmity of the old faith to pierce through the disguise of patriotism under which they had prevailed, the Catholics broke with them, and made permanent peace with the King.¹

At Douay, the revolutionary party came into power a few days after the defeat of Gembloux, and on the 10th of February a new governor, appointed by the Prince of Orange and the States, arrived to take the place of the old governor, who had been deposed. On the day of his entry into the town, it was expected that the English were about to be expelled: he paid a visit to the College the following day, and put many questions as to the number and age of the students, and how they were supported. On the 19th the rector of the University brought a request from the magistrates that some seventeen or eighteen students might be sent away in the hope of satisfying the populace; but the college authorities declined to do this for reasons which they gave in writing. Among these reasons—six in number—the principal were the manifest peril in which the ejected students would be placed; their

¹ See Holzwarth: *Abfall der Niederlande*, III, 450-469. Knox, I, p. liii.

uniform excellent behaviour, as all men could testify, and that ¹⁵⁷⁷⁻⁸ it would be an odious thing to drive away those who had come to the college for no other cause than their fidelity to the Catholic faith. Further, it would be a grave offence to his ¹⁵⁷⁸ Holiness the Pope to send away his students from his own college; for, apart from them, there were not seventeen or eighteen above twenty years of age.

Nothing further occurred until the 12th March, when the demand was renewed, and the rector of the University sent for Dr. Stapleton, Dr. White and Dr. Ely two days later, to inform them, by order of the magistrates, that all the English, except professors at the University, the aged, women and children must leave the town within two days. Appeal was made to the Governor, who decreed that the English might remain in safety, provided they avoided the market-place and public streets, and were careful not to excite the populace by going about, many of them together. At the very moment that this friendly assurance was conveyed to the anxious college authorities, a change for the worse had taken place; that day, or, according to the Communal Archives, two days previously, 18th March, the *échevins* [magistrates] of Douay were summarily deposed; some were cast into prison, and new ones appointed in their places by the Prince of Orange and the States.

One of the first acts of the new magistrates was to make proclamation by the town-crier—on the 22nd March, eve of Palm Sunday—commanding all the English to depart before five o'clock the next evening, save only old men and children, professors and women. The only reason given for this drastic measure was that many of the English had been seen in the streets, triumphing openly over the calamities of the country. This reason, as the Douay diarist observes, was no reason, but a simple falsehood.

There was now no further hope of respite, and the order was given for departure for Rheims. It was the penitential season of Holy Week when the students set forth on their four days' journey, under the guidance of Dr. Webb, arriving at Rheims on the 27th March, Maundy Thursday, Fifteen took Cambray

1578

on the way, so as to be ordained there on Holy Saturday. Cambray was in a state of tumult, and the seditious citizens received them badly, hardly allowing them to enter the town, even on the day of ordination.

That the expulsion of the English seminary from Douay, was not the considered act of the authorities, but a concession to popular clamour was made evident as soon as the town returned to its normal condition. In November of the same year, within eight months of the migration, Douay returned to itself; the Calvinistic faction was turned out, as from the other towns in Artois, and the magistrates, representing the old order of things, immediately sent a common letter to Rheims, inviting the College to return to the town, where it had retained possession of its property. The invitation was accompanied by a declaration from the magistrates, setting forth, in its quaint French, that the English had been expelled for no crime, *delict or malversation*, nor for machination of any treason against the town, but solely on account of the "diversity of the times, and for the appeasement of the people." These satisfactory overtures and testimony were gratefully received by Dr. Allen, but the invitation was not accepted. By that time the seminary had settled down at Rheims; another removal would have been a troublesome and expensive business, and the state of the Low Countries still contained all the elements of disturbance.

Not but that Allen would have preferred to remain in the Spanish possessions. To him, as to many Englishmen of his time of life—he was now in his forty-sixth year—Philip II was familiar, if not endeared, by the recollection of his joint sovereignty in England, during the only period of peace the Catholics had known. His conduct towards the exiles had been uniformly generous, and he was moreover regarded as the only secular prince in Europe with the power, and it was hoped—the will to promote the return of their country to the unity of Christendom.

Allen expressed his feeling in a letter to Dr. Vendeville, dated Rheims, 27th July, 1578—

"We should have been exceedingly glad to be in the dominions

of his Catholic Majesty, since on many accounts France does not yet seem to be such a convenient place for us Englishmen, though we have met with the greatest kindness and affection from ecclesiastics and others in this city.” 1578

He had petitioned Don John of Austria, governor of the Netherlands, that some other town in the Spanish dominions might be assigned to the seminary until the people of Douay came to themselves again; and Don John had responded with the offer of a college at Louvain.¹ Lack of money for the journey, the distance, and above all, the desolate state of the town obliged Allen to decline the offer; and we get some idea of the effects of civil war on a place like Louvain, from a letter of Gregory Martin to Campion, dated Rheims, 13th February, 1579—

“Louvain is a great desert on account of the plague and the multitude of soldiers. There is hardly any trace of the University. Horses are stabled in the desolate and ruined colleges.” Knox,
I, p. 219

Philip II was not unmindful of the men, driven a second time into exile, largely on account of their loyalty to him. He ordered that the annual sum of 1,600 florins, which since 1566 he had assigned to the exiled priests and students, should be paid thenceforward to the English seminary, to be disbursed at the discretion of Allen and his successors in the office of president. ibid.,
p. 14.

The college had existed ten years—from Michaelmas, 1568, to March, 1578—during that time it had sent forth from its walls seventy-four priests. Allen tells us, in the oft-quoted letter to Vendeville that on ordinary years the number sent across the sea averaged twenty, and about the same number were ordained out of the 100 or more students in the college. To fifteen of the names on the register the letter M was affixed by the diarist, as the tidings came that its owner had ended his labours on the scaffold. Sometimes we find *obiit in vinculis*; while to the name of Cuthbert Mayne attaches the pre-eminence of “proto-martyr.” Allen himself wrote his story in the *Brief History of the Glorious Martyrdom of Twelve* 1577-8

¹ Allen to rector of Louvain University, 11th September, 1578. Knox, II, p. 50.

1577-8

Reverend Priests, published in English in 1582, and of which the probably unique copy is in the British Museum.

Born *circa* 1542, at Youlston, near Barnstaple, young Mayne, at the instance of his uncle, an old schismatic priest—well-beneficed and desirous to leave him his benefice—took Anglican orders when about eighteen or nineteen years old: “at what time,” writes Allen, “(as Mr. Mayne himself with great sorrow and deep sighs did often tell me) he knew neither what ministry nor religion meant.” Mayne subsequently went to Oxford, where he was admitted B.A. on the 6th April, 1566, and made chaplain of St. John’s College. He remained there some years, “being,” as Allen writes, “of so mild a nature, and of such sweet behaviour that the Protestants did greatly love him, and the Catholics did greatly pity him.” Among the latter was Edmund Campion, his senior at St. John’s, who, after his own departure to Douay, invited Mayne, whom he knew to be a Catholic at heart, to follow his example. At Douay, where Mayne arrived in 1573, he became Campion’s pupil; he was ordained in 1575 and took his B.A. degree at the University on the 7th of the following February. With John Paine, a fellow priest, he was sent to England on the 24th April, 1576. He made straight for his own part of the country, and became chaplain to Sir Francis Tregian of Wolveden or Golden, in St. Probus parish, Cornwall, passing as that gentleman’s steward.

Hardly had he been there a year, secretly ministering to the spiritual wants of the neighbouring Catholics, when Dr. William Bradbridge, Bishop of Exeter, being on visitation at Truro, prevailed on Sir Richard Greville, high sheriff of the county, to search Golden House, “and there,” says Tonkin, the Cornish historian, “the priest was found concealed under an old tower.”

Mayne was imprisoned at Launceston and tried before Sir Roger Marwood, chief baron of the exchequer, at the Michaelmas Assize. The charge upon which he was committed was that of denying the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth, of possessing a copy of a brief of indulgence, and of wearing an *Agnus Dei* or, as the *Douay Diary* has it, a rosary. Allen relates that

when, in the course of the trial, the prisoner was offered his life if he would swear "on the book" that the Queen was the supreme head of the Church of England, "he took the Bible in his hands, made the sign of the cross on it, kissed it and said, "the Queen never was, nor is, nor ever shall be head of the Church." For this denial he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Launceston on the 29th November, 1577. The Douay diarist notes: "*erat autem morti adjudicatus ob nullam causam nisi quod cum eo erant literae indulgentiarum cum granis benedictis a Roma profectae*"—a statement which is confirmed by Hallam, "he was condemned without any charge against him except his religion."¹

More than a year passed before Campion, at Prague, heard of his pupil's death, and wrote to thank Gregory Martin for sending him the news—

"It gave many of us a real religious joy. Wretch that I am, how has that novice distanced me! May he be favourable to his old friend and tutor! I shall now boast of these titles more than ever."

Sir Francis Tregian, Mayne's patron, in whose house he was found, was by a sentence of praemunire stripped of all his property and sent to life-long imprisonment, his estates being made over to Queen Elizabeth's cousin, Sir George Carey.²

Only a few days before the exodus of the college from Douay came the news that another of its priests had testified with his blood for the faith: John Nelson, ordained in 1575, had laboured little more than a year in his native country when, on the 13th February, 1578, he suffered in the same manner for the same cause. Allen gives a short biography of him after that of Cuthbert Mayne, as of one who "from his youth had the zeal of God and His house."

¹ *Constitutional History* (ed. 1832), Vol. I, p. 197. Cuthbert Mayne was beatified by Pope Leo XIII on the 29th December, 1886.

² *Calendar of Court of Requests (Chapter House): Elizabeth*, No. 315. Tregian's estate was worth £3,000 a year (£30,000, according to the present currency). D. Gilbert's *Cornwall*, p. 360: On the accession of James I he was liberated after twenty-eight years' imprisonment, and proceeded to Lisbon, where he died in the odour of sanctity on the 25th September, 1608, aged sixty.

1577-8

A few days before Nelson's death, Thomas Sherwood, "a layman, young in years," says Allen, "but . . . especially given to the Catholic faith," was apprehended in the streets of London, as he was about to start for Douay, through the treachery of an acquaintance, Martin Tregonwell. After about "six months miraculous constancy . . . in cruel dungeons, irons and famine, and racking almost to death," he was drawn to Tyburn, and executed in the usual hideous fashion on the 7th February, 1578. A note in the *Diary* tells of the return of one of their number, Mr. Lowe, from England on the 1st of March, who gives them news of the young man's death, how, in all his torments but one cry escaped him—"Domine Jesu, non sum dignus ut ista pro te patiar, multo minus ea praeemia recipere quae daturum te promisisti confidentibus in te."

Douay
Diary,
II, p. 135

With such memories freshly stamped upon their minds and hearts, the college students migrated from Douay. The fate of the men who had been their daily companions seems to have had much the same effect upon them as upon Campion and his companions at Prague; it increased their eagerness to fit themselves to step into the place of those who had fallen in the exercise of their duty. In the words of Rishton—

1578

"One thing there is in this matter marvellous to observe, and which we can assign to nothing else but to the finger of God. While even in Catholic countries there are many who become priests only for honour and gain, the members of these colleges—among whom are noblemen and eldest sons not a few—without any hope of reward, yea, rather with loss of their heritage, with the certainty of disgrace, danger, and even death, so eagerly desire to receive the priesthood, that no fear of shame or loss, no persuasion of kindred and of friends according to the flesh, can shake their holy resolution."¹

Allen, as we have seen, had made due preparation for the removal of the college to a safer place. Rheims was a University town, and he had assured himself by personal investigation that the English exiles would be welcomed by the University, and that their coming would not be distasteful to the authorities of the town. Driven from the dominions of the sovereign

¹ Rishton's continuation of Sanders' *English Schism*, p. 299.

whom he regarded as a former ruler of his country, it was ¹⁵⁷⁸ natural that Allen should seek to place himself and those dependent upon him in a territory where the house of Guise—to which belonged Mary Queen of Scots, heir presumptive to the English crown—was powerful and influential; three of its members having successively been archbishops of the town. The Guises, moreover, were the avowed champions of the Catholic cause in France, and the ancient town of Rheims was perhaps as far removed from the areas of strife in those tumultuous days, as any place in France. Mary herself, with whom Allen was already in correspondence, wrote from her imprisonment in Sheffield Castle to her cousin Louis of Guise, Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims, to ensure his sympathy for Allen and his company; and there is a letter from the Cardinal to the latter, dated Paris, 15th April, 1578, promising to take him and the rest of the exiles under his care, and adding that he had signified to the magistrates of the city his desire that they should be treated with all kindness and hospitality.

*Douay
Diary,
II, p. 139*

Pope Gregory XIII, who had granted an extraordinary donation of 500 crowns for the expenses of the removal from Douay, wrote to the Cardinal Archbishop recommending him very warmly to protect the college; and he wrote in like manner to the metropolitan of the Chapter of Rheims.¹ The nuncio in France was also charged to employ all his good offices with the French King on behalf of the seminary, while Allen was directed to apply to him whenever he stood in need of the King's assistance.²

The citizens of Rheims, unfortunately, did not look upon the new-comers with as favourable an eye as did the authorities—civil and ecclesiastic—of the town. The ancient antipathy between French and English, fostered by many years of war and rivalry subsisted in full force at Rheims: it was a feeling which had not manifested itself in the Netherlands, where the English were not disliked as such by the populace, but as the

¹ Theiner: *Annales*, II, 434. Marlot: *Metropolis Remensis Hist.*, II, p. 34. Knox, I, pp.

² "Cardinal of Como to Allen," 19th May, 1578. Theiner: *Annales*, II, 435. Knox II, p. 41.

1578

Knox,
I, p. 317

supposed partisans of Spain. In France they were detested for their nationality. Gregory Martin alludes to this in a letter to Campion dated Rheims, 22nd August, 1578. After stating that the college numbered some sixty inmates, he continues—

“It is most uncertain whether we shall remain here in quiet and permanently, though the family of Guise is very favourable to us, because the name itself of Englishman begets suspicion in the French.”

ibid.,
II, p. 49*ibid.*,
II, p. 225Douay
Diary,
II, p. 141

We see by a letter from Allen to the Governor of Rheims, dated 7th September, 1578, how vexatious were the measures of precaution taken against the inmates of the College. He begs the Governor to allay the suspicions of the populace that they were armed, that they went about at night in disguise visiting the fortifications, measuring the walls, and examining the ditches and outworks: suspicions and rumours which magnified the seventy harmless exiles into five or six hundred. It took eleven years, as we see by the *Diary*, before the consistently peaceful and orderly behaviour of the exiles had fully dissipated these prejudices, and the townspeople began to look upon the Englishmen as part of themselves.

By a return made to the magistrates on the 7th May, 1578, we find that the number of English in Rheims was seventy-one, of whom sixteen belonged to two English families, that of John Harris, once secretary to Sir Thomas More, an old man with his wife, daughter, son-in-law and five children, and that of Jane Bristow, Dr. Bristow's mother, with her daughter, son-in-law and their four children. The exercises of the college were soon in full swing, notwithstanding external disquietudes, and under the same masters as at Douay, with the addition of Gregory Martin, whom Allen recalled from Rome in the month of July to take part in the work of teaching.

ibid.,
II, p. 144

So high was the reputation which Allen's college had achieved that when Philip II ordered the erection of two ecclesiastical seminaries in his Belgium dominions, it was determined that they should be modelled after the pattern of Douay. Dr. Vendeville, who had been commissioned by the King to carry his commands into effect, wrote to Allen from Namur on the 26th August, 1578, asking for full particulars of the spirit

of the seminary and the method of instruction. Allen's ¹⁵⁷⁸ answer was contained in the long letter, or rather pamphlet of fourteen printed folio pages, first written on the 16th September of the same year, but extended and completed in 1580, from which we have given several extracts.

In the following year, a similar request was received from <sup>*Douay*
Diary,
II, 157</sup> Dr. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, on behalf of the Scotch College which he and Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, through Allen's exhortations, had lately started in Paris.

CHAPTER VIII

1576-7

IF it be true that previous to the year 1575 William Allen is not found to be mixed up in the political affairs of his countrymen, the statement does not hold good after that time. Knox, in his historical preface to the *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, expresses the opinion that Allen's political activities only began about the year 1582, but later investigations make it plain that they dated from at least six years earlier.

No breath of political agitation, however, was ever, at any time, allowed to disturb the calm and studious atmosphere of prayer and labour prevailing at Douay or at Rheims; and nothing is more remarkable in Allen's career than the rigid separation he maintained between his life as president of the seminary and that of an important actor in affairs of state. In his vast correspondence in the former capacity, in the many and varied negotiations concerning the welfare and business of the colleges, we cannot find a trace of an allusion to the burning questions of the day. He carried on to the end the system he has himself described of forbidding all political discussions among the students, all allusion in school questions and controversies to the vexed question of depriving and excommunicating princes—"No, not so much as in generalities, and much less the particularising of any point in our Queen's case . . . because it is incident to matters of state, (as now our own country most unfortunately standeth)." ¹

1574-7

It is necessary to examine what were the steps now being taken, in furtherance of the execution of the papal sentence of deposition of the English Queen. It had become manifest that nothing was to be hoped—for the moment at all events—from the direct intervention of the great Powers. Spain was fully occupied in quelling the rebellions in the Low Countries, in protecting her commerce on the seas from the depredations of the English corsairs and privateers, and Naples, Sicily and

¹ Allen's answer to Burghley's *Libel of English Justice*, p. 64.

her other islands from the incursion of the Turk ; while France ¹⁵⁷⁴⁻⁷ was again being amused by a pretended marriage negotiation between Elizabeth and the youthful Duke of Alençon, youngest brother of Charles IX—the Duke of Anjou having been elected King of Poland early in 1573.

Marriage for marriage—the disposal of the hand of the Queen of Scots, since the Duke of Norfolk's death, was the great object of discussion between her partisans, the Catholic exiles abroad, and the Holy See. The question of the nullity of her marriage with Bothwell had been referred to a commission in Paris, under the presidency of the Archbishop of that town, and there is in the Vatican archives the report of a confession made by Bothwell—*moribondo*—in presence of certain noble Danes, in the Castle of Malmoe, 5th December, 1575, in which with great penitence he confessed himself guilty of Darnley's death and exonerated the Queen of Scots.¹

Roman
Transcripts,
22nd Sept.,
1575

ibid.,
6th Dec.

The youthful gallant warrior, Don John of Austria, was, <sup>*ibid.*,
15th Jan.,
1574</sup> in the eyes of the English Catholics, the man in Europe most fit to mate with Mary ; and they intimated to the King of Spain at the end of the year 1573, their willingness to accept him as king, provided he would marry the Queen of Scots. At the same time the Pope, through Ormanetto, Bishop of Padua, his nuncio in Madrid, was suggesting that Don John should receive the title of King of Tunis—possibly with a view of making him a fitter candidate for Mary's hand. It would appear that from this time suspicion began to work in the slow mind of Philip against his brilliant young brother. Ormanetto reports the King's dry reply with regard to the title of Tunis—"Sometimes, by asking for everything, you may lose part of what you have," and four days later the <sup>*ibid.*,
1st April</sup> nuncio writes that Don John has been ordered to go to Milan and to stay there—"nobody knows why." The English at ¹⁵⁷⁴⁻⁷⁸ Madrid had been urgent with the King to let Don John head the

¹ Bothwell recovered from his illness and lived until 1578. The date of the Vatican document would show that he was not removed from Malmoe to Dracksholen, in Zealand, as early as 1573, as is commonly stated.

1574-8

enterprise to England, and if Philip would not go to Flanders himself, that he would at least send Don John.¹

Roman
Transcripts,
9th Dec.,
1575

Elizabeth, meanwhile, pursuing her double policy of secretly supporting rebellion against her brother-in-law, and openly making the friendliest demonstrations towards him, was receiving his envoy, Bernardino de Mendoza, with the greatest cordiality and affection when he came to England for a treaty of commerce between the two countries; and her ambassador to Madrid the following year, Sir Henry Cobham, among other tokens of affectionate friendship from the Queen, "let it be understood," wrote the nuncio to Cardinal Como, "that the pretended Queen has a daughter of thirteen years of age, and that she would be happy to bestow her in marriage to anyone whom the King of Spain would like to suggest." Ormanetto adds—"I had heard of that daughter before, but the English here say they know nothing of her."

ibid.,
13th June,
1574

1574-75

That neither Spain nor France was in a condition to attack England single-handed became ever clearer in the despatches of the nuncios of the two Courts. The pitiable state of the finances of France after the death of Charles IX in the spring of 1574, is shown in the letters of Salviati to Cardinal Como:—the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, has asked him to obtain the Pope's leave to sell Church property, *i beni ecclesiastici*, as there never was such a lack of money—"which is no more than the truth," adds the nuncio.

ibid.,
28th July,
1574

And, again, a few weeks later, in a letter written as the new King, Henry III, was hastening back from Poland to assume the crown of France, he says—"The revenues do not meet the ordinary expenses, which will soon have to be increased by the hire of foreign troops," to fight the Huguenots. Describing a long audience he has had with Catherine de Medicis, in which he had urged her to bring about an alliance between France and Spain, Salviati writes—

"She is averse, on account of the incompatibility between the

¹ In his letter of 15th January to the Cardinal of Como, Ormanetto had said that King Philip's chief reason for not going to Flanders, as the Pope had urged him to do, was on account of the danger to his person, but that it might be possible to get him to Italy.

two nations, and because it would do more harm than good, by giving a pretext to England and Germany to make an offensive and defensive league; which would be more stable and more prompt to offend than the other to defend, and would, in the first place, bring about the ruin of this country [France].”¹⁵⁷⁴⁻⁵

Meanwhile, the *avisi* from Flanders reveal a chaos of trouble and intrigue:—if the rebels are not put down once for all with a strong hand, there will be disturbances every year—

Roman
Transcripts,
17th Sept.

“Cecil, who may be styled King of England, in order to keep up his authority and grandeur, seeks for every means to extirpate the Catholic religion, not only in his own country but in the neighbouring ones, especially by the services of Montgomery in France, and of Orange in Flanders who, with the 100,000 *scudi* sent to him last year has done infinite damage.”¹

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that although Gregory XIII had consented that the expedition to England might be sent in his name, and that one of the Colonnas, Pompeo or Prospero, might be Captain-General, the nuncio in Spain can only report that King Philip makes endless delays, objects to everything which his own Captain-General and Ormanetto propose, and that the enterprise must be postponed to the following year.

ibid.,
17th April,
1576

The fact that William Allen had undertaken a journey to Rome in mid-winter, and in company of Sir Francis Englefield, the accepted leader of the English exiles, would in itself have shown that the Pope's desire to have his opinion about an English college in Rome—already for some time established—was the ostensible, but not the only reason of his going there. The matter is established beyond dispute in a letter from Cardinal Como to the nuncio in Madrid, dated 17th May, 1576, wherein, after saying that the Pope agrees, at the desire of the King of Spain, to the postponement of the expedition until the following spring, he continues—

“So we are sending away Englefield and Dr. Allen, partly because

¹ The Count of Montgomery, a Huguenot leader, had, with the connivance of the English Government, assembled a fleet at Plymouth for the invasion of France. He was made prisoner in Normandy, and suffered the death of a traitor in 1574.

1576

their prolonged stay might arouse suspicion in that woman [Queen Elizabeth], partly because, from the Low Countries, where they generally live, they can easily and secretly send certain persons as precursors to negotiate with some of the chief Catholics, which can do no harm, as it will be in general terms."

A letter from Allen himself to Dr. Owen Lewis, written after his return to Douay, is doubly interesting as showing his political activity and, at the same time, the exact secrecy with which all knowledge of it was withheld even from his closest friends and associates at the seminary. He left Douay for Paris, as we have seen, on the 8th November, 1576. Here again, the ostensible reason—the desire of his friends that he should leave Douay on account of the popular unrest—was, in all likelihood, coupled with a political purpose, and when, on the following day Drs. Stapleton and White, with Gregory Martin and two others left for Rome, Stapleton was the bearer of a letter from Allen to Owen Lewis, of the contents of which he was entirely ignorant—"Our master, Dr. Stapleton," wrote Allen, "is of himself quite eager to undertake the pilgrimage to Rome for the sake of devotion: but he knows nothing at all about the enterprise." The last words, and several of the following are in cipher—

1576-77

"He will be a very fit person to send among the leaders with the fleet. . . . As to the paper I lately gave to Sir Francis Englefield, and which I think he has sent in cipher to the Cardinal of Como, I have written in another letter, and how opportunely the enterprise can now be carried out, since the present state of confusion in Belgium would remove all suspicion. All that is necessary within and without we are getting ready; but we are in great want of money . . . all this that I write is for the Cardinal of Como himself. His lordship, the Earl of Westmoreland, is in the camp at Antwerp, consulting his own safety. . . ."¹

Unless, what Allen calls, at the beginning of the above letter, "those holy designs on behalf of our nation" are favoured by God, he foresees that the seminary and the exiles generally will suffer severely; and we can imagine in what bitterness of spirit Sanders wrote from Madrid, and Allen read, a

¹ *Vatican Archives*, Catholic Record Society, Misc., Vol. VII, 2.

twelvemonth later,—after ceaseless and urgent negotiations,—^{6th Nov., 1577} that there was nothing to be hoped for from Spain—

“ O pitiful change of things : We shall have no stedy ¹⁵⁷⁶⁻⁷ comfort but from God, in the A [the Pope] not the X [Philip II]. Therefore I besech you to take hould of A ; for X is as fearfull of warre as a child of fyre, and all his endeavor is to avoyd all suche occasions. The A will give twae thousand [troops], when you shall be content with them. If they do not serve to goe to England, at the lest they wyll serve to goe to Ireland. The state of Christendom dependethe uppon the stowte assallynge of England. . . .”¹

Philip II had reasons of his own, apart from his natural indecision, for hesitation : he knew from his own experience, and far more clearly than any of his English or other advisers could imagine, the real difficulties of the enterprise they were urging upon him. He had gone to England in amity, with gifts in his hands, to mate with its Queen : his conduct from first to last as king-consort had been unexceptionable in every sense of the word, from the testimony of all impartial and independent observers ; and he had met with suspicion, calumny and hatred—his servants and followers were daily outraged and attacked, until Spaniard and Englishman could not meet in the street without risk of bloodshed—and his marriage, the very love of his wife towards him, had only served to turn the hearts of her people away from her, to change their former passionate loyalty and devotion into cold aloofness and suspicion. The character of the English nation was too well known to Philip, to admit of his cherishing any illusions as to the possibility of Spanish interference on behalf of the legitimate heir to the throne being taken in good part, or facilitated by the open sympathy of the majority.

He had, indeed, at the beginning of the year 1577, given it to be understood that if matters went well in Flanders under the government of Don John of Austria, he would seriously

¹ P.R.O. : *Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. CXVIII, n. 13. The letter was intercepted by one of Walsingham's or Burghley's secret agents, and was produced at the trial of Father Campion in 1581.

1577

Roman
Transcripts,
2nd April

1577-78

undertake the English enterprise ;¹ and, after the signing of the treaty—" the perpetual edict "—Ormanetto expresses the hope that now, perhaps, the English affair will get started. In an interesting letter from the Cardinal of Como to Don John the congratulations of the Pope are conveyed to him on the treaty, and on his good intentions towards English affairs ; with the suggestion that under the authority he holds from the King of Spain he might " under some legitimate pretext " have embarked the Spanish troops who were leaving the Low Countries under the terms of the treaty, and not lose so good an occasion of castigating that wicked woman—*quella rea femina*, and at the same time of acquiring so fine a realm for himself. Monsignor Sega, Bishop of Ripa, had meanwhile been sent by Gregory XIII as nuncio to Don John with 50,000 ducats towards the expenses of the proposed expedition,² and the Cardinal, after remarking upon the difficulty of embarking 6,000 men with munitions, etc., in Italian waters, now that there was no question of fighting the Turks, and that the English Queen " through her spies gets to know everything that happens," remarks that he will await Monsignor Sega's return before writing again. Geraldine has gone back to Ireland, where his friends are already in arms, and it ought not to be difficult there to plant such a thorn in the side of that sorry woman [Elizabeth] as Orange has proved himself to Spain in the Low Countries. This could be done by Stuckley with a few ships, and as the Pope has promised Geraldine to assist him, Don John is asked to let him know what he can do. To complete all the happy results to be hoped for from this enterprise, the Cardinal trusts finally to see the crown of England upon his highness's head, through his marriage with the Queen of Scots. The Pope greatly hopes that Don John will command the expedition himself, and that he will begin his preparations at once, sending word what number of troops he requires from the Papal States, and when and where they are to disembark ?

These high hopes were doomed to failure : Don John's

¹ Nuncio in Spain to Cardinal of Como, 24th January, 1577.

² Strada : *De bello Belgico*, lib. IX, p. 440. Knox, II, p. 281.

answer to Cardinal Como's proposals, while declaring that he would like above all things to undertake the expedition, shows that the difficulties, especially through the close friendship of Elizabeth and the Prince of Orange, are many and great, and that the first indispensable condition would be to get the Queen of Scots out of her imprisonment in Sheffield Castle, before anything could be done. As we have seen, the "perpetual edict" remained in force less than six months, and Don John, "ill-supported and left without money" by Philip II, as Segá describes, far from undertaking fresh exploits, was desperately holding his own at Namur, until Farnese's victory at Gembloux on the 31st January, 1578, saved the situation.

Roman
Transcripts,
June, 1577

1577-8

ibid.,
Jan., 1578

In the month of June, 1577, Nicolo Ormanetto, Bishop of Padua and nuncio in Spain, died at his post after a few days' illness. The intimate friend of Cardinal Pole, whom he had accompanied to England, he was better versed in English affairs than, perhaps, any other member of the Papal Court, and had he lived, the events of the following year might have held a different course. He was succeeded as nuncio in Spain by Monsignor Segá, Bishop of Ripa, and afterwards of Piacenza, whose appointment was announced to him as he was on his way back to Italy after his legation to Don John of Austria.

Of all Allen's correspondents in England at this time, the name of only one has come down to us—of the Queen of Scots herself; and it is noteworthy that in the vast correspondence that was going on respecting the expedition to England, Don John of Austria's letter to Cardinal Como alone marks the essential condition, that the release of Mary from captivity must precede any armed intervention from abroad on her behalf. The entire absence of any allusion to so grave and capital a point on the part of the men, ecclesiastical and others, who were so urgent to let slip the dogs of war, denotes more clearly than anything else their lack of acumen in matters political, their oblivion or carelessness of the peril in which they would otherwise place the sovereign whom they desired to enthrone. The Queen's letter to Allen is an answer to one

1577-8

of his which has been lost. It is written in cipher and dated Sheffield, 3rd August [1577].¹

"The many good reports and multitude of rare virtues floweing in yow, which long agoe have made your name be knowne not only unto me but to the greatest and every one of good in Christendome, have no lesse made me esteme your comfortable letter in this my affliction as a singular signe of some good to ensue thereupon, then most heartely to accept your godlie and honest offers. . . .

"There is no particular joye nor restitution nor advancement on earth that I desire saving onely the relief of the Catholique church and fortitude thereof . . . specially in this poor isle. To which end, if it shall please Him to make me serve in anything, I doe even now, as I have long afore, dedicate and abandon my life in a thowsand more torments . . . wishing no greater felicitye and consolation then in that quarrell to leave the miseries of this wretched vale.

" . . . Considering the good which manifoldlye I have received since my arryvall in this realme, as well by the wicked who through persecution have made me, with God's grace, better acknowledge myself then afore I could in prosperitye, as by the good people that in my lowest extremitie have given me comforte and relief, which bindeth me . . . in recompence to wish weal to the whole, specially to the faithfull who have suffered with lose of lands and goods and finally banished, albeit with separation of their bodyes in strange countries I wishe ther harts not to be so farre severid as to my grieve I understand they be devided in sundry factions. To the reunion and reconcilment of whom I have this long time bine most desyrous to interpose my credit . . . and hereof knowing your habilitie and the good opinion everyone of them hath of yow. I have found no way so fit as to call to your helpe and to pray yow for God's sake and myne to imploy your travell in so good a work . . . and therein, if my name may serve in anye way, to use it as yow think needful. . . . God Almightye preserve yow." ²

In the Cardinal of Como's letter to Don John of Austria, we found mention of two picturesque and tragic figures—that of "Geraldine," or rather James Fitzgerald, of the house of Desmond, an Irish chieftain, who could only sign his letters with his mark, and who had travelled to Rome and to Madrid

¹ The Queen mentions her messenger, Mr. Lignons, and there are two entries in the *Douay Diary* of his arrival there at different times.

² Original decipher in British Museum: *Cotton MSS. Calig. C.V.*, 80. Labanoff, IV, p. 375.

to solicit succour for the revolted Irish;¹ and that of the strange semi-royal, wholly adventurous buccaneer and soldier, Sir Thomas Stuckley, product of the restless times in which he lived, and who was to be after his death, the favourite hero of Elizabethan playwrights and ballad-mongers.

Stuckley was either the third son of Sir Hugh Stuckley, of Appleton, near Ilfracombe, or, as was generally supposed, a natural son of Henry VIII, a supposition confirmed by the terms of familiarity with which he treated, and was treated by, the various sovereigns with whom he came in contact. Born about the year 1525, as a young man he served under Henry II of France, and then in Flanders under Philibert of Savoy. He was allowed to return to England in the time of Mary, and married the daughter of a rich alderman of London, Sir Thomas Curtis. He took to coining false money in 1555, and when his arrest was ordered, escaped oversea and took service again under Philibert, sharing in the victory of St. Quentin, 10th August, 1557. He subsequently took to piracy, and after squandering his wife's fortune on the death of her grandfather, became a privateer under Elizabeth, who joined in the venture. For two years his piracies on the high seas were the scandal of Europe, so much so that Challoner, the English ambassador in Spain, writing to Cecil, on the 24th December, 1564, declared that he "hung his head for shame" when Stuckley's piracies were railed at, and he begs Cecil, "though it cost the Queen roundly," that he may "for honour's sake be fetched in."² The remonstrances of the foreign ambassadors at last compelled Elizabeth to disown Stuckley, and to forego the spoils he had furnished. His galley was seized in Cork harbour in 1565, and he was sent to England, where he was released on his own recognisances. Later on he was accused of felony and imprisoned in 1568 in Dublin Castle. Released after seventeen weeks, he went to London, and thence escaped to Spain.

The account Stuckley gave of himself, as we see it recounted in the letters of the nuncio in Spain, the Archbishop of Rossano,

¹ James Fitzgerald [Fitz Maurice] assumed the position of Captain of Desmond, was declared arch traitor "by the English Government."

² P.R.O.: *Foreign Elizabeth*, 1564-6, p. 272.

1578

and in his own long memoirs to the King and to the Pope was a fantastic one—a repentant heretic, anxious to be received into the bosom of the Church, and begging the nuncio to absolve him from censures—for which the latter declared he had not the necessary faculties—a man of vast possessions and great authority in Ireland, and whose dearest wish it is to deliver the Catholics from oppression. If he might have four ships, 3,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, he would go to Ireland and seize Waterford and Cork. He will reduce Ireland to the obedience of the King of Spain, and hold it for him against all comers.¹ In a memoir to the Pope, the demand is increased to twelve ships, with which to reduce Ireland in a few weeks; and if two ships and two cruisers could be sent to some port in Flanders, he would undertake to go over and burn all the ships in the Thames. So certain is he of success, that he is willing to constitute himself prisoner to the Duke of Alva—this was in 1571—that his life may be forfeited in case of failure. Philip II received him nobly, and the Duchess of Feria—an English-woman, Jane Dormer—greatly caressed him, reported the nuncio, who appears to have taken Stuckley's statements with caution, although they were confirmed to a certain extent by the Archbishop of Cashel, Maurice Gibbon, who was at Madrid at the time. Later they quarrelled, and divided the Spanish Court into factions.

Roman
Transcripts,
5th Feb.,
1571

ibid.,
24th July,
1577

Philip II soon became dubious of Stuckley's wild schemes, and of his ability to perform his magnificent promises; but he employed him in command of three galleys at the battle of Lepanto, where his gallant conduct rehabilitated him to some degree in the King's eyes. When Stuckley, after pleading for years, considered Philip II hopeless, he went to Rome early in 1575, where his schemes unfortunately met with more favour. Gregory XIII was weary of waiting upon the indecision of the King of Spain; and in a somewhat peremptory letter to Monsignor Sega, Ormanetto's successor as nuncio at Madrid, Cardinal Como declares, in the Pope's name, that if Philip cannot, or will not begin the enterprise, his Holiness

¹ *Roman Transcripts*, February, 1571.

will find other means to help Geraldine according to his promise. ¹⁵⁷¹⁻⁷ It would be too unworthy to abandon him, and it might be well to give Stuckley, who is dying to have it, a single, moderate-sized vessel, with a good store of arquebuses and other offensive and defensive weapons, to help Geraldine. They might free the whole of Ireland from that Queen, which would be no light acquisition while awaiting that of England, and would divert Elizabeth from other things.

Had Ormanetto lived, he would in all probability have pointed out the fallacy of such a proposition; but there were not lacking other men to do so. Stuckley had written to ¹⁵⁷⁷⁻⁸ Monsignor Castagno, Archbishop of Rossano, asking for recommendations to Rome, and in writing to Cardinal Como from Venice, 19th February, 1575, Castagno says he knows Stuckley well, whose business had passed through his hands when nuncio at Madrid—

“But I may tell you in secret that his day is past. We cannot think of force with regard to England. If there is any hope now, it is not by irritating that woman [Elizabeth] but by quite contrary methods; by conciliatory and soothing demonstrations to herself personally; she is now getting on in years and may some day weary of her manner of life. Nothing offends her more than to hear that gentleman’s name, not that she is afraid of him; but because he bears her ill-will, and because he goes about among other princes saying he can do something against her, and gets favours from them by that means.”

A few months later the Archbishop returns to the subject. Sir Richard Shelley, the last grand prior of the Knights of St. John in England, who had retired abroad on account of the persecution, was living at Venice; and Castagno suggests to Cardinal Como that something might be done through him to placate Elizabeth—

“She knows he is not her enemy, but stays away solely on account of religion. She is no longer young. [Elizabeth was forty-three years of age], the taste for pleasure cools, wills become more moderate—*le voglie si temperanno*; it may be that she may come to regret having so many malcontents within and without her realms, solely on account of religion, now that the persecutors of the Church are in safety.” ¹

Roman
Transcripts,
11th June,
1575

¹ Sir Richard Shelley [1513 ?–1589], second son of Sir William

1577-8

Roman
Transcripts,
June, 1577

Another warning came from no less a person than an English ambassador. Segá, Bishop of Ripa, while on his mission to Don John of Austria in 1577, wrote to Cardinal Como that the English ambassador [Thomas Wilson] had called on him at Brussels, had assured him that he was himself a Catholic, and that his Queen wished to live at peace with everybody. Stuckley's intrigues were well known, and the ambassador warns the nuncio that he is a good-for-nothing man—a poor bankrupt who has been turned out of Spain.

ibid.,
1st July

The Cardinal, in reply to Segá, admits that Stuckley is in poverty, but denies that he has been turned out of Spain.

The warnings fell upon deaf ears: Stuckley, under the pretence of possessing large estates in Leinster, had obtained from the Pope the title of Marquis of Leinster: he had requested that a certain Captain Bastian di San Giuseppe, a subject of the Pope, might accompany him to Ireland, which was also conceded, and he left Rome for Civita Vecchia, where he arrived on the 19th January, 1578. There a galleon with four pieces of artillery was provided him, and 600 infantry—seven of whom ran away at once from Civita Vecchia—together with a good quantity of munitions and supplies. He made for Lisbon—the King of Spain not wishing that the expedition should sail from a Spanish port—and Fontana, the papal agent in Portugal, reported to Cardinal Como on the 22nd April that the King of Portugal, who had sent Stuckley several messages through Fontana not to come to Lisbon, now proposed to take him and the Pope's ship and troops to Africa for two or three months, before letting him start for Ireland. Fontana protested, but Don Sebastian was firm—he was at peace with the Queen of England, he was in fact using her supplies and munitions in his war with the Moors, but as soon as that was over, he would let the Marquis go to Ireland, as

Shelley. His order was suppressed in 1540, but restored by Mary, who made Shelley Turcopolier, an office second in dignity to that of grand prior, bestowed on Sir Thomas Tresham. The efforts of Elizabeth's ambassador in Madrid to make him return to England were vain, but he always protested his complete loyalty to her. He had a pension from Philip II, and died at Venice in 1589.

he would have no further need of English help. To Fontana's ¹⁵⁷⁷⁻⁸ surprise and indignation, Stuckley, who by this time appears to have lost his ardour for the Irish enterprise, expressed his willingness to accept the King's proposal.

Stuckley declared that his ship was unseaworthy, and to make matters worse, the soldiers had begun to fight among ¹⁵⁷⁸ themselves, the Sienese against the Florentines, and the King had to send two captains to the fortress. Sega, who, from Madrid had sent an agent to Lisbon, received a doleful account, which he forwarded to Rome, of Stuckley's utter incapacity: such differences had arisen between him and his troops that the King had been obliged to interpose, and to place the latter under the command of one of his own officers, General Venturini, "to whom Stuckley has resigned his standard." The English gentlemen who had joined him, now left him and returned to Madrid; and in answer to the Pope's command conveyed through the Cardinal of Como, to proceed on his journey, Stuckley replied begging the Pope and Cardinal not to believe the tales of his enemies and spies, and that he would undertake the Irish business after the African. He likewise ^{ibid., 30th May, 1578} hopes that, if possible, Dr. Allen may then come to him.

That these rashly adventurous schemes were known to Allen is certain, but we have nothing to show how far they met with his approval and concurrence. Sanders' faith in Stuckley was such, that he wished to accompany him, but was ^{ibid., 22nd Mar.} prevented from doing so by the King of Spain.

Queen Elizabeth made light, as well she might, of Stuckley's doings—"The lord and Council of Ireland make sure of Stuckley's coming," wrote Thomas Wilson from the Court to Walsingham on the 21st June—

"The Queen does not much esteem this conceived fear in Ireland, and therefore wished me to defer the calling of the Council till to-morrow. Two thousand soldiers to be presently sent, victuals for 4,000 . . . munitions for a great quantity, and lastly, £20,000 to be sent in haste, over and above the quartering." ¹

The English ambassador in Paris, Sir Amyas Paulet, wrote two days later that "Stuckley had lost his credit in Rome, that

¹ *Foreign Elizabeth*, 1578, No. 31.

1578-79

he was going to Africa after threatening to do great things in Ireland, that all the states where he had lived felt his vanity and were weary of him."

Roman
Transcripts,
12th July

The rest of Stuckley's story is soon told: he sailed for Barbary, reported Segá to the Cardinal of Como, adding that "there was nothing more to be done" with him, and a few weeks later came tidings of the terrible battle of Alcazar, fought on the 4th August, and the destruction of the whole Christian host by Muley Hamid. "Don Sebastian fought for ten hours, and had three horses killed under him before he fell; of the 22,000 men with him but some score escaped," among them Stuckley's page, who arrived in Madrid the following November, bringing his master's papers, of which the nuncio sent the more important to Rome. Stuckley had both his legs shot off, and if the report received by Captain Bastian di San Giuseppe and sent on by him to Cardinal Como was correct, Stuckley was true to his nature to the end—"after the first assault of the Moors he left the Italians and sprang into a squadron of Carthaginians" (*sic*).¹

ibid.,
27th Sept.

Meanwhile James Fitzgerald, or "Geraldine," as he was always called in Italy and Spain, was eager to set sail for Ireland: the Pope, who had given a tardy consent—which only reached Madrid long after Stuckley's death—to the African scheme, on condition that it should immediately be followed by the expedition to Ireland, sent money through Segá for Geraldine's "glorious enterprise," which would have started from Lisbon in February, 1579, had not the new King of Portugal, the aged Don Henry, positively refused to allow it, very reasonably urging that as the whole thing was known,

¹ The accounts of the battle which reached Madrid, and were forwarded to Rome by the Nuncio and by Captain Bastian di San Giuseppe, tally very exactly with that sent by the Jew physician of the King of Morocco, who was present, to his brother immediately after the battle. He gives the number of Christians as 30,000, who were all killed or taken captive after fighting most valorously, except twenty or twenty-five who escaped to Arzila. "The King of Portugal died of two wounds in his head and one in his arm, and his body is in Alcazar in a chest of lime." P.R.O.: *Foreign Elizabeth*, 1578.

to go on with it would be courting manifest ruin.¹ Dr. 1579 Sanders, who was to accompany Geraldine, and in whose prudence, conscience and religion, Sega wrote that he felt more confidence than in a whole army, was peremptorily sent back from Lisbon to Madrid; and the assembled soldiers were ordered by the King to be disbanded under pain of his displeasure.²

Geraldine made for Corunna, and having collected four vessels and a small number of men, sailed from Ferol for Ireland on the 17th June. He captured two English ships on the way, and on the 26th July wrote from Dingle, a little port in Kerry, to the Cardinal of Como announcing his arrival. He had with him eighty armed men and four priests: the standard of the Cross was raised, the castle was taken, and they were soon joined by 300 men and four captains. He asks for speedy assistance, on which all depends, as not only the heretics, but some Catholics are banded against them, and he sadly needs powder and lead. He sent back a Spanish friar to emphasise these demands, but before the latter reached home, and while Sir George Parrot, sent by Elizabeth with reinforcements, was hurrying to meet him, he was killed in a skirmish by his own cousin, Theobald Burke.

After James Geraldine's death, the command was taken by John Geraldine, brother of the Earl of Desmond, and in the margin of a letter from Sanders praying that Desmond may be appointed "Apostolic General" of the Irish in place of Geraldine, may be seen in the Pope's handwriting—" *Placet et fiat Breve.*" Roman
Transcripts,
27th Dec.

The Archbishop of Sega was at his wits' end when the ill news of Geraldine's death reached Madrid: he tried to persuade *ibid.*,
30th Sept. Sir Francis Englefield to accompany the succours he was determined to send, but Englefield, as may easily be believed, gave many reasons why he should not go. Captain Bastian di San Giuseppe agreed to undertake the enterprise, asking for the rank of Colonel and "*Generale di Sua Santità*," which

¹ Archbishop Sega to the Cardinal of Como, 19th February, 1579.

² Fontana to the same. Same date.

1580-1

were accorded him. So slow was he, however, in his preparations, despite the nuncio's constant urging, that he was not ready to set sail until the following August.

Roman
Transcripts,
4th Sept.

San Giuseppe's dilatoriness seems to have fretted Archbishop Sega to the point of illness ; and it was his secretary, Valerio Angelini, who wrote to announce that after infinite delays, the expedition, consisting of six ships with some 1,000 men, had started on the 28th August for Ireland. San Giuseppe's first letter is dated Limerick, 1st October, 1580, and writing again on the 12th to Cardinal Como, he gives a deplorable account of the state of things—John Geraldine, who was reported to have a following of 4,000 men, has only 200 ; he and his brother have not 600 between them. Their people do not obey them, their friends have abandoned them, the country is ruined and almost uninhabited, and the enemy—only five leagues distant—numbers 1,500. The country people have fled into the woods, and give them no help, but he is busy fortifying himself, and hopes to hold out until the spring ; by that time he must have a succour of 4,000 men, and some artillery.

ibid.,
9th Jan.,
1581

The tale of this unfortunate enterprise was told before the spring. Bastian de San Giuseppe, whom Sanders, writing to the Cardinal of Como the following January calls the vilest and blackest of men, avaricious, luxurious, effeminate and arrogant, surrendered to the English commander [Lord Grey de Wilton ?] after what, by his own showing, was the feeblest defence, and which Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London, described in a letter to Archbishop Sega as no defence at all, saying that the white flag was hoisted at once without any resistance, and that Bastian's soldiers " behaved like hens." Nearly all the troops and many non-combatants were put to the sword, and San Giuseppe, with ten of his officers, was carried to England, whence he wrote from his prison, " twelve miles from London," to Cardinal Como, on the 27th December, 1580, asking for money for their ransom, 13,000 scudi in all. Archbishop Sega spoke to Cardinal Granvela on the subject, but the information received of San Giuseppe's conduct inspired no inclination to help him ; he was repudiated at Rome, as

ibid.,
April, 1581

several of the Cardinal of Como's letters show, and he was left to make the best terms he could with his captors.¹⁵⁸⁰⁻¹

After these experiences it is not surprising to find Como writing, more wisely and sadly to the nuncio in France, when the Pope was again urged to take part in an English enterprise, that the papal forces were too feeble; that long experience had taught him that projects in words often came to nothing, and "how little apt we are for such enterprises, which are none of our business—*che non sono di nostro mestiere*." ¹

Gregory XIII was, it is true, only taking a leaf out of Elizabeth's own book, when, as a temporal sovereign he sent aid to her revolted subjects: attempting to plant such a thorn in her side in Ireland, as that which for the last twenty years she had planted in the side of Spain in the Low Countries, in the person of the Prince of Orange. But aggressions so feeble and ill-digested as those of Stuckley, Fitzgerald and San Giuseppe, containing in themselves all the elements of disaster, might well excite the risibility as well as the anger of the terrible Queen. Had Philip II played the part allotted to him in the scheme, had the attempts upon Ireland been part of a well-concerted whole, they might have escaped the charge of culpable rashness; but if Gregory XIII hoped, by taking action independently to spur the King of Spain into energetic measures, his long experience of that monarch and his ways had left him singularly ignorant of his true character.

As we have seen, Sir Francis Englefield had absolutely refused to accompany Fitzgerald into Ireland; he was at Madrid doing his utmost to persuade Philip to undertake the enterprise, which he well knew could only succeed by having a force behind it in some degree commensurate with that which could be brought against it, and with such intelligences within the kingdom as could make a general rising of the Catholics in England certain—and probable of success. Of the ill-fated attempts upon Ireland, it is hardly too much to say that since the passing of the Act of Uniformity, no event had occurred

¹ *Roman Transcripts*. Cardinal of Como to Bishop of Rimini, Nuncio in France, 28th May and 11th June, 1582.

1580

more fraught with dire and far-reaching consequences, more pregnant with suffering and disaster to the unhappy Catholics of England. The Pope's challenge was taken up with grim satisfaction by the Queen and Burghley: his person was beyond their reach, so a vicarious punishment was unsparingly inflicted upon the loyal subjects of Elizabeth, who acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See.

William Allen was so entirely at one with Englefield in his political aspirations, that it may be taken for granted that the Irish attempt did not meet with his approval. The marriage of the Queen of Scots with Don John of Austria, when that prince, having pacified the Low Countries, could take a victorious army across the seas, was the object for which he laboured. He was probably in Paris when Don John passed through on his way to Flanders in the winter of 1576, and had an interview with the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador; and Allen was admitted into their councils.¹ Sir Francis Englefield went to Don John at Brussels in the following January—as was reported to Burghley by Dr. Thomas Wilson, the English ambassador—and that gallant young prince was in correspondence, as was well known to Burghley, with the Queen of Scots—an interesting correspondence, of which not a single letter remains.

Dr. Allen was now in a double sense a marked man in the eyes of the English Government—on account of his college, which supplied the men who kept the old faith alive in England, and on account of his political activity. When, therefore, besides the sending of a strong force to Flanders under Norris, a shorter way of putting an end to Don John commended itself to Walsingham, it was thought desirable to get rid of Allen by the same occasion.

The instrument had presented itself in the person of Egremont Radcliffe, a son of Henry Radcliffe, second Earl of Sussex, a wild and turbulent young man who had taken an

¹ Allen returned to Douay on the 4th March, 1577, amid the ringing of bells and blaze of bonfires, by which not only the members of the college but the townspeople expressed their joy at his return. Knox, I, p. 116.



SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM



active part in the Northern rising in 1569, and had then fled ¹⁵⁷⁷⁻⁷⁸ into Flanders and Spain. Philip II gave him a pension of 800 ducats, which did not prevent him from being imprisoned for debt in Madrid, and in a list of English exiles in the Low Countries we find a short and unedifying account of him, which explains his subsequent repugnance to return to Spain—

“ Having slain a man was compelled to flye the Low Countries, and traveling into Spayne gott his pardon there of the Kinge, and was sent to Milan, where he had 40 crownes by the month; but having killed there two others, was compelled to return from thence and is at this present in the Lowe Countries.” ¹

This was at the beginning of 1575, and Radcliffe went to France and Calais, “ to be nearer to the gates of mercy,” as he wrote to Burghley, in one of his numerous supplications for pardon. He ventured to return to England, and appeared at Court in November, 1575, being immediately sent on to the Tower. Confined in the Beauchamp Tower—where his name and his motto, “ *pour parvenir*,” may still be seen carved on the wall of his cell, he wrote to Burghley, on the 20th April, 1578, promising that he would find him, if released, “ un-
Strype's Ann., II, 495
doubtingly so grateful, on the expense of his poor life, in any service it should ever please his Honour to command him in, might enable him.” On the 10th May he was secretly released from prison and exiled: he appears to have gone straight to Paris, as the ambassador there, Sir Amyas Paulet, mentions him in May, as “ offering his service ” to the Queen.

Strange to say, it was the Queen of Scots who gave warning to the Spanish agent in London, Antonio de Guaras, that there was a design to assassinate Don John of Austria, of which she had heard from some secret adherent. Guaras told Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who wrote to Philip II on the 16th May—a week after Radcliffe's liberation from the Tower—

“ Here for many days there is a talk in the house of Leicester of killing H. H. (Don John), the talk being renewed by the good opportunity of the war. Of this I have advised H. H. and also ¹⁵⁷⁸

¹ P.R.O.: *Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. CV, n. 10. Knox, I, p. 230.

1578

that this Queen on the 10th, set free Edmund Radcliffe, brother of the Earl of Sussex, who has been confined in the Tower for three years I have been advised that he is an intemperate young man, and daring enough for anything,"¹

Vid. Alain,
pp. 81, 82

Fitzherbert, in his life of Allen, tells how his close correspondence with Don John of Austria had aroused the suspicion of the English Government, and how Egremont Radcliffe came to Rheims to put an end to him. Warned by several letters from England, Allen, showing no signs of distrust, received his visitor kindly and, after a long private interview, dismissed him with much friendly advice. This was not the first attempt of the kind after Allen's removal to Rheims; Fitzherbert mentions an earlier one, made by a certain "Richard" [Baynes?] who, moved by the hope of acquiring fame and reward from the English Court, sought admission to the English College, with the intention of putting poison into the food, not only of Dr. Allen, but of all who were at table with him. Struck with remorse before executing the nefarious scheme, he made a clean breast of it to Allen, who sent him away unpunished.

Allen's good advice made no lasting impression upon Egremont Radcliffe; there is a graphic account in Coloma's *Life of Don John of Austria*, of the arrival at the camp at Tirlmont of Radcliffe and his cousin and accomplice Gray, with two light Hungarian horses, Gray remaining with them in a wood close by, while Radcliffe made his way to Don John's tent, who was giving audiences at the moment. Mendoza had not only warned Don John of Radcliffe's probable arrival, but had sent him his portrait, so the Prince recognised him as soon as he entered the tent, humbly begging the favour of a hearing. Without a sign of surprise or disturbance, Don John, after a quiet word to his servant that the new-comer was to be arrested on leaving the tent, bade Radcliffe speak, and highly commended his expressed intention of returning to the Catholic faith, and offering the service of his sword to the King of Spain. As was his habit, he walked up and down the tent with Radcliffe, keeping an eye upon his movements, and avoiding his efforts to prolong the stroll beyond the limits of the tent. At last he

¹ *Spanish Cal.*, Vol. II, p. 583.

intimated that the audience was at an end, and when the two¹⁵⁷⁸ accomplices were arrested, Radcliffe confessed that his purpose had been to strike at the prince with a poisoned dagger, if he could have induced him to step outside the tent. In the confusion, he would have hoped to reach the horses and make his escape.¹ He and Gray were put to death in December, 1578, and he confessed on the scaffold that he had attempted the crime at the instigation of Secretary Walsingham. When the latter, while denying the imputation, inquired from Davison, the English Ambassador at Antwerp, whether the confession had been made under torture, or on the scaffold, the latter somewhat drily replied that it had been made at the moment of death and that "the motion of that enterprise was solely imputed" to Walsingham.²

What Egremont Radcliffe failed to do was accomplished by the plague—the gallant young Don John of Austria, such "a gentleman," as Walsingham had admitted a few months previously, he had never seen "for personage, spirit, wit and entertainment," succumbed to the malady which was decimating the troops in his camp, towards the end of October; and with him died the hopes of those who, like Allen, had seen in him the fit consort of their future Queen, the saviour of their cause. Like a true Christian knight, he had given orders for the release of Radcliffe and Gray, but they were nevertheless executed by the Prince of Parma, Don John's successor as Governor of the Netherlands.

What the news of Don John's death meant to the Queen of Scots is not lightly to be imagined. Mendoza wrote to Secretary Zayas on the 8th December, 1578—

"They tell me that the Queen of Scots has been much grieved at the death of Don John, and for two days after she heard the news¹⁵⁷⁹ was almost without food."³

When the tidings of the fate of Radcliffe and Gray reached

¹ Padre Luis Coloma, S.J.: *Don Juan of Austria*, translated by Lady Moreton, pp. 417-420.

² *Foreign Elizabeth*, 1589, 25th January, no. 538.

³ *Spanish Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 624.

1579

London Mendoza wrote to the King of Spain on the 10th January, 1579—

“The Queen said with much annoyance, when she received the news from Walsingham, that it was the result of advice, he and others had given, and the pass to which things were brought; which words Walsingham felt so much, that he came to this place from Court the next day with fever.”¹

Don John of Austria was twenty-eight years of age when he untimely died—Mary Queen of Scots was a few years his senior, but still incomparable in beauty, queenliness and charm; even after several more years of misery had passed over her, so unimpaired was her majesty in loveliness that when Nicholas White was admitted to see her at Tutbury in 1585, he discreetly advised that—

“Very few should have access to, or conference with this lady, for besides that she is a goodly personage, she hath withal an alluring grace and a pretty Scottish speech, a searching wit clouded with mildness.”²

Imagination may please itself to picture what the union of two such beings, each in their way incomparable, might have portended to the age and society in which they lived: and, at the same time how great was the overthrow of hopes built high upon the possibilities of that union.

¹ *Spanish Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 628.

² *History of Staffordshire*, Vol. I, p. 251. (*Report on Salisbury MSS.*, I, 400.)

CHAPTER IX

AN attempt upon Allen by direct assassination was not the only means tried by the English Government to get rid of him, or rather to have him delivered into the Queen's hands. The accession of a new sovereign, Henry III, was not an unlikely opportunity for a diplomatic bargain, and Allen, warned by letters from England, wrote to ask Monsignor Dandini, the nuncio in Paris, to say a word in his favour and that of his college to the most Christian king. In forwarding the request to Rome, the nuncio describes Allen as "*un signor illustrissimo*," and hopes the Pope will "confirm himself in his good opinion of him."

Knox,
II, P 42

Roman
Transcripts,
16th Sept.

Two years later, the attempt was renewed; Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, "made sinister offices" with regard to Allen, to the King, in the latter's own words to the Duke of Guise, who immediately informed the nuncio. Thereupon Dandini, at his next audience, besought the King and the Queen-mother that neither then, nor at any future time, would they give ear to "that woman's" attempts against the Englishmen at Rheims. Henry III did not deny that the overtures had been made, but declared that he would do everything to satisfy the Pope, and bade the nuncio tell him whenever he could be of service to Dr. Allen and his college. Dandini reports in a later letter that when Allen wrote to thank him for his good offices, he stated that his friends in London reported that everything was being done there to annihilate him.

ibid,
18th Sept.,
1580

ibid,
6th Nov.,
1580

In the meantime very serious trouble had come upon Allen in another order of things. The admirable discipline, concord and peace which his administrative genius had created and maintained within the walls of the seminary at Douay and at Rheims, unhappily did not prevail for a twelvemonth in the English College at Rome, to which he had sent a considerable number of his students. Dr. Maurice Clenock, the rector, a man possessing many good qualities, was singularly lacking in the talent of governing; he was a Welshman, and at the

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moment when smouldering discord among the students broke into open expression, there were thirty-three Englishmen and nine Welshmen in the college. In a quaint petition to the Pope, setting forth their grievances, the Englishmen began with the grave statement that since the days of King Arthur, there had been an absolute incompatibility of temper between the English and the Welsh, as the frequent disturbances between them in the past days at Oxford and at Cambridge could bear witness. And they found it intolerable that the rector should favour his nine compatriots in every possible way—giving them the best of everything in the way of clothing and diet, to the detriment of the English students.¹

Cardinal Morone, the protector of the college, when appealed to, had but one answer—discipline must be maintained, the rector's authority obeyed while the grievances were being looked into. But national rivalry once thoroughly aroused, was not to be quietened. The appointment of two Jesuits—Father Paulus Navarola and Father Ferdinand Capecius—as procurator and prefect of studies had been warmly approved by Allen; the Jesuits were at the height of their fame as teachers and trainers of youth, and, in a letter to their General, Everard Mercurianus, dated Rheims, 26th October, 1578, Allen, after thanking him for permitting his fathers to manage and teach the college, expressed the earnest hope that the arrangement might be a lasting one. The two fathers, and the Jesuits generally took the part of the malcontent Englishmen. Allen's connection, Richard Haydock, one of the two sons of Vivian Haydock, who had accompanied their father to Douay, was one of the four ringleaders—the others being Sherwin, John (?) Martin and Gore—and in a long, somewhat eager and excited letter to Dr. Allen, dated Rome, 9th March, 1579, he gives an account of the quarrel. The malcontents aimed at nothing less than the removal of their rector; the four above-mentioned leaders walked to Civita Vecchia, where the Pope was staying, in the hope of personally laying their case before him; but they were met with a message *non erat*

Knox,
II, p. 68

1589

¹ Tierney's *Dodd*, Vol. II, App., p. ccclxvi.

tempus hoc, and that the Pope would send some one to hear all ¹⁵⁸⁹ reasons and put an end to contention. The Secretary of State, the Cardinal of Como, to whom they went next, referred them to their protector, Cardinal Morone, who ordered obedience to their rector under pain of expulsion. So heated became the situation that at dinner the Welshmen had knives in their hands, ready to strike those who sat next to them, if the fathers had not been present. According to rumour, Cardinal Morone, when the Welshmen went to him: "unto them promised all things; but to us, nothing but punishment." Four of the students, of whom Haydock was one, Martin, John Mush and Gore being the other three, were marked for expulsion, whereupon the whole thirty-three Englishmen determined to leave the College and Rome in a body, and to make their way on foot to Rheims or to Flanders: "having nothing in the world," wrote Haydock, "to bear our charges—

"Yet no man, from the highest to the lowest, was anything discomfited. . . . The Archdeacon [Owen Lewis] denied to give one penny to any. The Jesuits began to beg in the pulpits for us, being Ash-Wednesday, and the first day of preaching. Our fathers, in our home, began to beg for us. . . . Father Ferdinando [Capecius] was almost mad for us, and begged for us from the fathers of the Casa . . . insomuch that I think we should have brought you home 400 or 500 crowns; for we had been like to have no less than 1,000 crowns. . . . The Jesuits were out of their wits almost for us, insomuch that they wept, many of them, and desired that we should not come and take leave of them, for they could not find it in their hearts to take leave of us."

At this crisis, the Pope sent for the malcontents, sixteen of whom went and threw themselves at his feet. According to Haydock, his Holiness wept, as did his petitioners; he ¹⁵⁷⁹ bade them not to go away, and promised that they should have what they desired. The next day, 5th March, they submitted the names of Dr. Morton and Dr. Bavant: the matter was debated by the authorities, and the students were informed that they could have neither. "In good hope we are," wrote Haydock, "that we shall have the Fathers"; he continues—

"The Jesuits admire our doings, that we durst be so plain in our doings . . . they wonder at Mr. Maurice [Clenock's] and the

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Archdeacon [Owen Lewis's] imprudence in troubling us. But comfort yourself, and send so many as you have ready . . . and one thing mark,—that, if you send any Welshman, let him be as fit, as others ; or else, if by any means, hinder him.”¹

This letter revealed a state of things more calculated to dismay than to comfort its recipient, and which the account sent to him a few days later—18th March—by Dr. Owen Lewis, fully confirmed. Owen Lewis, the great benefactor of the College, was singularly moved : not so much at the ingratitude to himself, as at the spectacle of thirty young men, going away at such a time of year, by perilous ways “to the sorrow of their parents, to the scandal of the Catholics and the ridicule of the heretics in England.” Dr. Bristow, whom some of the students had named, was warmly recommended by Lewis himself to Cardinal Morone as a most proper and fit person to succeed Dr. Clenock. “Now it is pending,” he adds, and that he prays God to appease this tumult, which is doing great harm. He ends a wise and temperate letter with a passing allusion to the calumnies and falsities uttered against himself, and to his own efforts to return good for evil.²

Allen's first care upon hearing of the tumults in Rome, was to keep his own college free from infection, that partiality and division should “take no hold in our company” as he wrote in his answer to Owen Lewis's letter [Paris, 12th May, 1579], a task for which all his moderation and dexterity were needed. No “meddling or maintenance of either side” of the dispute, openly or privately, was used, “but every man to apply to his book and pray for the appeasing of the tumult—and lest any breach might chance to be,” wrote Allen in the above letter, he thought it necessary, otherwise than his custom and somewhat against his health, always to be in hall at dinner and supper and all exercises. So perilous did Allen consider the broil, that he candidly admits he could not tell how to write for fear of doing hurt. He had learned with unaffected pleasure that a Jesuit rector, Alphonsus Agazzari, had been appointed in the place of the deposed Dr. Clenock—

Knox,
II, p 78

¹ Tierney's *Dodd*, Vol. II, App., no. lix.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 168-174.

“the committing of the house to the Society was all our ¹⁵⁷⁹ desires,” he declares, while regretting that Dr. Bristow, his own right hand at Douay, had not been made rector in the first instance instead of Clenock—it was an error—

“The rather noted because Mr. Maurice, being otherwise a very honest and friendly man and a great advancer of the students and seminary’s cause, had admitted there . . . some of his own country-folks and friends for age, quality and institution unfit for the study and seminary, which gave both first occasion in the sight of vulgar men to do as they did, and that many there be so extremely alienated (which pierces my heart to hear) from you and that province, which hath bred and doth bring up so many virtuous, constant and Catholic men.”

The insubordinate conduct of men, the great majority of whom had been his own pupils and who, “by tumultuous means so hazardous and scandalous had prosecuted the matter” grieved Allen to the heart, as neither his tongue nor pen could express. At the same time he entreated Lewis—

“As I honour and love you, use all means possible to come into the grace and liking of the students, and show your wisdom, charity and zeal in condescending, bearing and supporting their youthful miscarriages, so far as without sinning you may. For *interest causae vestrae mirifice* that this begun faction do cease.”

That there were faults on both sides was natural and inevitable, and Allen, because he could be sincere and plain with so dear a friend, begs Lewis to moderate his cousin [nephew] Hugh Griffith’s tongue and behaviour—

“Who is of a bitter, odd and incompatible nature . . . who for choler and other singularities was insupportable amongst his fellows here. . . . I will, by all the forces I may possibly, devise, as well in writing to the students as to their governors and confessors, to make an atonement. I have written to Father General, also, and will do to whosoever I may think to have credit with the students; who I know many of themselves be not of ill nature, but have been by zeal rather than malice carried into this action.”

On the other side, Hugh Griffith had written to Dr. Allen and to Dr. Bristow declaring that the Jesuits could be proved to have been the counsellors of all the tumults, that the Society

had no skill or experience of England and Englishmen, and therefore, if Dr. Bristow would yet come up, he should be made rector, as he earnestly exhorted him to do. "All which I see," sadly writes Allen—

"Tendeth to new and endless stirs, by which in fine it will come to pass, that our nation and that begun good work will be forsaken of the Jesuits and ourselves and all our superiors else. And then I shall be weary of my life, which already by these unhappy bustles of our country is more tedious to me than ever. If more alterations be yet sought, all will be lost . . . except the matter be used with great patience and with condonation of each other for God's sake, and our country's and common church's sake, all will be lost that you have done and I have done for our realm's recovery. Would God that I were there [in Rome] one month, that I might either make up these extreme alienations of mind, or else, if I could not do so much, that I might shortly there end my life, and all the frenzies of mind and miseries rising from these calamities procured by our follies and sins. . . . And so I make an end of this ungrateful talk and of my scribbled letters; which be the worse scribbled, for that at this present I am very weak and weary of body."

Owen Lewis had been most strongly in favour of the appointment of Dr. Bristow, and most opposed to that of Father Agazzari, but he unfortunately was a Welshman, and Dr. Clenock's unlucky appointment had been procured by him; so that the influence he exercised at this important juncture was considerably less than his great benefactions to the college, and the weight of his experience and opinion deserved. Hardly had the change, which they had so stoutly and tempestuously fought for, been accomplished, than the foremost among the leaders began to discover that little as they had liked being governed by a Welshman, they liked the rule of an Italian little better; and a sore was established which from time to time rankled, and which never became completely healed during the 194 years of the Jesuit government of the Roman seminary.

There was a general consensus of opinion that Allen's presence at Rome was necessary to restore harmony at the college—the professors at Rheims had wished to send him off at the first news of the disturbances; but Allen, as he

explained to Dr. Lewis in the above-quoted letter, earnestly¹⁵⁷⁹ as he desired to go, would not risk incurring the displeasure of the Pope and the Cardinal of Como by starting without their leave. They, however, were anxious for his presence, and so were the Jesuits, as we see by an interesting letter from Father Robert Persons—the first addressed by him to Dr. Allen, which has been preserved. This remarkable man was probably already known to Allen, having arrived in Rome, and entered the Society of Jesus in July, 1575, a few months before the latter's second visit to the Eternal City; but the close and intimate friendship, and Persons' great influence over Allen were of later date.¹

Persons' letter is singularly sensible and moderate in tone; he excuses Dr. Clenock's insufficient government on the plea that he was alone, without help and "never practised in such a manage before." He could have wished that the scholars had dealt more moderately for redress, and that the differences between Welsh and English had not so often been named—"But who can stay young men, or ould eyther, once incensed on both sides by national contentions? You know what passeth at Oxford in like occasions." Like practical men, the Jesuits had obtained the Pope's licence for Allen's coming to Rome, of which Persons informs him, and that a sum of money is being sent him as *viaticum* for the journey. Another point touched upon is that of the English mission; Persons hopes that Allen will get the question of Jesuit help settled during his visit to Rome. Several of the fathers, among whom Persons dares count himself, are ready "to adventure their blood in that mission": he had offered himself a good while ago to the mission of the Indies, and could

Κνοκ,
II, p 74

¹ Robert Persons, S.J. [1546-1610], was born at Nether Stowey, Somersetshire. He was at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, in 1564; M.A. of Balliol in 1572; and bursar and dean of his college. He twice subscribed the oaths of supremacy, but was never ordained. In consequence of a quarrel with Adam Squire, the proctor, he resigned his fellowship in 1574 and started for Padua to study medicine. Halting at Louvain, Persons made a retreat under Father William Good, by whom he was probably reconciled to the Church. He was ordained priest at Rome in 1578.

not obtain it, so "it may be that God wil have me goe to this other"—

"But whether I goe or no, I think the combination of our fathers of the Society with our priests of the seminaries is so important a thing and of so great consequence, as if by your coming you brought no other thing to passe but this, you would have wel bestowed your time. But I hope you shal doe this and much more, wherof we shal talk more largely at our meeting."

Nothing gives a better insight into William Allen's lovable and open-hearted disposition, and singleness of purpose, than the lately-published letters written by him to Father Agazzari, on first hearing of his appointment.¹

He was at Douay, having been invited thither by the magistrates, who were anxious to obtain the return of the College to their town, deploring its former expulsion as a wrong, when, on the 28th June, 1579, he wrote to his "most sweet colleague and comrade in Christ," congratulating himself, his college and his countrymen on the fact that the future fortunes of the seminary, "that child of my heart," had fallen to the care of the Society, and more especially into Agazzari's hands. The College is the hope of all their race, and he expresses the conviction that the privilege of being its rector has been granted to Agazzari by God himself on the score of his eminent charity, as one set apart for the loftiest enterprise of charity and aswoon with love of the souls that perish. Would that the affairs of the two colleges could be so arranged and co-ordinated that all the business of Rheims could be handled by no one else than by those who look after the English College in Rome—

"So should we be freed from many troubles, and not be forced to employ the services of others; on whom we must needs rely till such time as the working-system of both colleges become a completed whole."

After some business details about the students the writer concludes with charming modesty—

"Verily, I shall call that the merest child's play, which we seem to have achieved so far, in comparison with what by your [means] and with the help of Christ we are going to do in future."

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII, No. 2.

On the 21st August, the diarist tells us, Dr. Allen after dinner announced to the assembled College his approaching departure for Rome. Under the circumstances, his words had an intenser meaning as, with an emotion which found vent in tears, he exhorted his weeping hearers to observe concord, humility and obedience, to avoid every species of murmuring and scandal. On the 27th he started on his third journey to Rome, taking with him his younger brother Gabriel Allen, and three of his professors—Baynes, Thomas Worthington and Oliver.

Though they travelled by easy enough stages, as Allen wrote to Agazzari from Lyons on the 7th September, they were "very weary with the road, saddle-sore and parched with heat." He gratefully remarks that his companions ministered to his every need and comfort, and that the Jesuit Fathers at Lyons cherished him most assiduously: "may God reward them."¹

Allen had appointed Dr. Bailey, vice-president, and Dr. Richard Bernard, prefect of studies, rulers of the college during his absence—Dr. Bristow being then at Douay, acting as Allen's substitute in his professorship. They received on the 21st November, Allen's first letter from Rome, telling of the great kindness and honour with which he had been received by Gregory XIII, who assigned two rooms at the English College for his use, with a table to himself, and permission to invite whom he would, the Pope defraying all expenses, which Allen estimated at no less than thirty gold crowns a month. When Allen expressed to the Pope his ardent longing to see the students of his Holiness, Gregory XIII, replied, "they are thine, Allen, not mine—*Tui sunt, inquit, Alane, non mei.*" And it is to this visit of Allen's to Rome that Watson refers in his *Decachordon* when he records—"of whom Pope Gregory of holy memory said to his Cardinals: "Come, my brothers, I will show you Allen—*Venite, fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum.*"²

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

² William Watson: *A Decachordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions*, p. 97 (pub. 1602).

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By the time Allen arrived in Rome, a fresh cause for his mediation and large-minded prudent intervention had arisen at the English College. It was rather, as Humphrey Ely in his *Certain Brief Notes* describes it—"a certain murmur than dissension" which but for Father Persons' wisdom and industry, "would in time have grown to an open sedition." The scholars having obtained their desires, and fallen very zealously to their studies, one or two of them "would needs become Jesuits." At this their companions murmured, saying that the college was founded for the education of virtuous and learned priests to help their country, and not to bring up men to enter into religion and leave the harvest at home. This, according to Ely, was Father Persons' chief reason for procuring Allen's coming to Rome.¹ The latter had long had it in his mind to obtain the help of the Jesuits in England; he had ungrudgingly seen some of his best and most promising men—Campion, Richard Storey, John Howlett, William Weston, not to mention William Holt and four other students whom he had sent to Rome the previous year, join the ranks of the sixty-nine British subjects who became Jesuits between 1536 and 1580. His was not the disposition to allow the interests of his own undertakings to interfere with the actions of men who were following their vocation or their conscience; but it was not unreasonable to hope that the Society would consent to repay somewhat of that it owed to Douay and Rheims, for the worthy subjects it had obtained therefrom, and to help in the harvest that was crying out for labourers in England.

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Dodd,
II, p. 403

He had sent forth close upon a hundred missionary priests at the time of his arrival in Rome, and by the middle of 1580 they numbered exactly a hundred. So zealous and fruitful were their labours that one of them, Henry Shaw, was able to write from England to Allen, towards the end of 1575, that the number of Catholics increased so abundantly on all sides that Burghley himself had privately admitted to one of his friends, that for one staunch Catholic at the beginning of

Knox,
I, p. 98

¹ Humphrey Ely: *Certain Brief Notes*, p. 75.

the reign there were now three. Another, John Payne, ¹⁵⁷⁹⁻⁸⁰ writing in July, 1576, mentions the large number of persons daily reconciled to the Church—to the astonishment of the heretics who “are as much troubled at the name of the Anglo-Douay priests which is now famous throughout England, as the Catholics are consoled thereby.” Allen himself, writing to the College from Paris in January, 1577, states that persons arriving from England give the number of those daily restored to the Church as almost passing belief, and that “one of the younger priests lately sent on the mission, had reconciled no less than eighty persons in one day.” ^{Knox, I, p. 107} ^{ibid., p. 114}

We may imagine with what earnestness Allen urged his request upon the General and superiors of the Society, and with what joy he was filled when, after much and long debate, they consented to take part in the English mission. The students in Rome were satisfied also, and “all murmur was appeased,” says Humphrey Ely—

“For (quoth the scholars) let as many now enter into the Society as will, for when they have been sufficiently brought up therein they shall be sent into England. And thus each party was pleased; the fathers, for that they might receive of the scholars into their society without grudge or dislike, and the scholars because such as entered, most of all (if not all) should be in time employed for their country.”¹

Another matter which Allen had much at heart was the question of jurisdiction. With all their bishops dead, in prison or in exile, the clergy in England were like sheep without a shepherd; a fact which Allen had deplored, in his letter to Chauncey, prior of the English Carthusians at Bruges, as a cause of defects and scandal, even with the “wisest and most picked persons in the world”—the relics and seed of the Church in England had no form of external commonwealth, “no one that governeth the rest, no discipline or censures.”² Recourse to Rome, or to the nuncio in Paris or at Brussels was difficult and uncertain, and every fresh missionary who landed in ^{ibid., I, p. lxxv}

¹ Humphrey Ely: *Certain Brief Notes*, p. 75.

² Allen to F. Chauncey, prior of the English Carthusians in the Low Countries, 10th August, 1577. Knox, II, p. 35.

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England made it more necessary that the clergy should be no longer without local superiors. Still more, whenever the Jesuits and other religious orders should enter the field, if the secular clergy remained without hierarchical subordination, it would be difficult for them to hold their own against the compact organisation, rights and privileges of the regulars. Rivalries, conflicts of jurisdiction, encroachments of the stronger upon the weaker—with disputes and disunion—might arise, paralysing in their effects upon the common efforts and labours of all. Bishops were also urgently needed to administer the sacrament of Confirmation, which the English had always regarded with great devotion, and craved for more than ever at the present time of persecution. Allen therefore proposed to Pope Gregory XIII to send bishops to England; and before he left Rome, he had reason to believe that his prayer would be granted. Great was his satisfaction, also, when the Jesuit superiors decided to send Persons and Edmund Campion—who was then at Prague—to England. He wrote a joyful letter to the latter, dated Rome, 5th December, 1579, full of anticipation of the results to be obtained, by one whom he so cherished for his virtues and gifts, and of gratitude to Heaven that Campion should have been chosen to labour in the vineyard of his own country, rather than in that of Bohemia. He hopes he will come quickly and find Allen still at Rome, where he means to stay till the end of February. In this hope he was disappointed, for Campion did not reach Rome until the 5th April, and Allen started for Rheims before the end of February. From Siena he wrote, on the 29th of that month to Father Agazzari, that he and his companions had arrived safe and sound, with horses and baggage uninjured. We get an idea of the conditions of ordinary travel at the latter part of the sixteenth century, from the following remark—

Knox,
II, p 84

“ This I add, that those who are to be sent by you on foot may know that they will not experience any great anxiety, toil, danger or loss ; for Johnson and the other who set out with us from Rome to walk, have long since passed us on the road.”

In sending his salutations to the “ children ” of the College, he bids them affectionately to be ever mindful of him—

" Their names, in the brief space afforded me for writing, would not come within the compass of this sheet ; but all of them, one by one, from the youngest even to the eldest, I hold engraven on my heart. As for all the Fathers . . . there is no need for me to enumerate them ; on earth, and as I hope in Heaven, I will bear them ever in mind . . . lest I offend in any way against Father Persons, that most dear friend of my heart, I desire this letter about our journey to be as much his as yours. . . ." ¹

The travellers arrived at Rheims early in April, and on the 9th Allen wrote to Agazzari. There is a not unnatural tinge of anxiety in his inquiries about the College—"if all is quiet . . . if there is fervour in studies and zeal for the house of God, diligence in following the order of the day and wholeheartedness for God." He is eagerly awaiting the arrival of Persons and Campion, "because for some time there has been an excellent opportunity for crossing over to our island." ²

Meanwhile, as a counter stroke to the projected marriage of Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, some zealots in France reprinted the bull of excommunication against the Queen. Nuncio Dandini, the moment he heard of it wrote in alarm to the Cardinal of Como—

Roman
Transcripts,
27th Feb.,
1580

" The Bull said to be published or re-issued against that Queen will serve to warn her [of the Irish enterprise], and will cause further persecution and wrong to the priests and the Catholics."

And in his next letter he reports that the rage of the Queen of England at the republication of the bull against her is already becoming apparent, diligent inquisition being made, and orders given that all English persons arriving in England from Rome or Flanders should be arrested.

Elizabeth had, moreover, issued two proclamations on the 15th July, 1580, and 10th January, 1581, against the exiles and the colleges of Rheims and Rome, the second of which Allen immediately sent to Father Agazzari that it might be translated into Italian. ³ It was, perhaps, impossible to expect

ibid.,
1st Mar.

¹ *Catholic Record Society : Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* : Allen to Agazzari, 14th February, 1581.

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that the purely spiritual character of Allen's work in the seminaries should be recognised or admitted by his adversaries, now especially that his political activity was getting generally known; but he thought it right to publish a defence of the two colleges. He sought the opinion of the Pope, who, while condoling with him and sending him a present of 500 scudi, advised him to write the *apologia*, but without bitterness—" *senza mordacità*." Allen set to work and wrote his *Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution of the Two English Colleges . . . against certaine sinister informations given up against the same*: a work which Bolton, in his *Hypercritica* describes as a "Princely, grave, and flourishing piece of natural and exquisite English." It was printed at "Mounts in Henault" in 1581.¹

1580-81

The style of the work deserves Bolton's encomiums, but, more interesting is Allen's emphatic denial of the charges of treasonable practices brought against him and the colleges, and his testimony of "innocence in all those things" whereof they stand accused, "Most humbly and temperately, for the due respect of our sovereign," he endeavours—

"To make clear and defend our misconstrued good purposes and needful offices towards our native countrie, in these many heavey yeares of our co-acted absence from the same. Trusting that our Lord may alter the minds of many that mistake our doings, and may turne the Queen's Majestie's and her honorable Council's eares from our calumniators, her hand of indignation from our afflicted brethren, and her hearte to wonted mercie and clemencie towards her Catholic subjects."

After stating that all Christian countries and Universities

¹ Edmund Bolton, or Boulton [1575?-1633], historian and poet, was described by Ritson as "a profound scholar and eminent critic," while in the judgment of Hunter he claims as an antiquary to stand beside Camden (whose friend he was), Selden, and Spelman. He first appeared as an author in 1600, when he was associated with Sidney, Spencer, Raleigh, and other poets as a contributor to *England's Helicon*. His sixth work was *Hypercritica, or A Rule of Judgment for Writing or Reading Our Histories*. Although a Catholic, he was suffered by James I to live with his wife and family "in peace to that conscience in which he was bred." *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1625.

"approve and praise their studies and scholastic travails proper ¹⁵⁸⁰⁻⁸¹ to their trade," the writer trusts that posterity in England, "recovering itself from this present blast of doctrine and peculiar tempest of this time . . . will like, allow, and justifie our dutiful service to God and the Church of England." He disclaims all disloyalty to the Queen: he does not presume to direct the words of his defence to her Majesty or Council (though St. Justin, St. Hilary and other holy Fathers have done the like to their Princes), so addresses them to all indifferent readers generally, while praying to God that he will incline her Grace's and her honourable Council's hearts with mercy and equity to read the same. Taking the points of the proclamations of the 15th July, 1580, and 10th January, 1581,¹ one by one, Allen replies to the first accusation in the edict of July that "we be fled into foreign partes and refuse to live in our own natural countrie"—

"We protest to all the world that it is not for any undutiful affection, alienation or estranging our hartes and likings from the same . . . not for that by unkind affection we preferre any country or commonwealth before our owne, be the commodities in themselves never so many, or their courtesies to us never so great . . . whereof our often sorrowful bewailing before God and complaints one to another do beare us witness. . . .

"Thou knowest, Good Lord, how often we have lamented together, that for our sinnes we should be constrained to spend either all, or most of our serviceable yeares out of our natural countrie . . . how earnestlie we have together desired Thee to incline our Prince's ¹⁵⁸¹ heart to admitte us to our countrie into what state soever, so that we might there in povertie and penance, serve the poore soules to their salvation. . . . Thou knowest how justly we have bewailed our heavie case, that so many strange nations having their churches and freedom to serve God after their manner in our countrie, only Catholics (which in our Fathers daies had all, and for whom and by whom all churches in Christianitie arose) can by no intercession of foreign Potentates, nor no sighs nor sorrow of innumerable most loyal subjects, obtaine one place in the whole land to serve their Lord God after the rites of all other good Christian Princes, Priests and people of the world."

After declaring how willingly divers of their company would

¹ British Museum: G. 6463, 207 and 211.

have offered themselves to perpetual prison "for pledge and warrant of the peaceable and loyal demeanour of their brethren and for security of the State" had they dared propose it; or that even in private house, yea in prisons in the closest and least offensive manner, as the Apostles and Confessors did in the Primitive Church, they might have "their souls' rights," Allen continues—

"From all which, being by rigor of penal statutes, diligent enquiry of temporal officers, watchfulness of Ministers, spies, and promotor, continually restrained, and by them often chased from their houses . . . many thousands, yea, the farre greater part of her Majestie's subjects languish away in sorrow and sadness irremediable."

Such men are made miserable not only by being deprived of the exercise of their religion, but by being forced to things against their consciences, especially to that oath of the Queen's spiritual Sovereignty—"a thing improbable, unreasonable, unnatural, impossible . . . a title and a claim that never Kinge (much less Queene) . . . before our age, did challenge or accept"—

"This intolerable oath, repugnant to God, the Church, her Majestie's honour, and all men's consciences; and the daily dangers, disgraces . . . imprisonments . . . despites, which they must suffer; and the railings and blasphemies against God's Sacraments, Saints, Ministers and all holies, which they are forced to hear in our countrie, are the only cause, most deere Sirs . . . why so many of us are departed out of our natural countrie, and do absent ourselves so long from that place where we had our being . . . and which we desire to serve with all the offices of our life and death. . . . From which we are not fugitives, as sometimes uncourteously we are called, nor are fled for any crimes or disloyalties against the Prince or Commonwealth."

Allen declares that his late journey to Rome was for "the necessary reliefe of our fellow students in banishment," and that he joined with no rebel, nor traitor, nor with any one else against the Queen and the realm. As for the supposed articles of confederation between the Pope, the King of Spain, and other princes for the invasion of England, mentioned in Elizabeth's proclamation of July, Allen could quite truthfully declare that he had never seen the writings alluded to until they were

published and common to all the world, and that he believed¹⁵⁸⁷ they were contrived by those who, with skill and audacity, had done such practices before : he further pertinently points out that had such a confederation existed, it would have been neither wisdom nor policy to publish the fact, so as to give the Realm warning to provide against it " specially all the world knowing that the pinching of the poore Catholics at home (a lamentable case) is their sense and repay for all adverse accidents abroad."

He asks whither shall they flee for relief either of body or soul, if not to the head, or (as St. Jerome speaketh), to the rock of refuge in doubtful days and doctrines, to the chief Pastor and Bishop of their souls? After giving a short description of the foundation of the seminary in Rome, and extolling the munificence of the Pope in its regard, Allen gives another reason for his journey—

" That the governors of the college in Rome above, and of this other now resident in the citie of Rheims, might give and take mutual direction, for correspondence, discipline and education most agreeable to our countrymen's nature, and for the prevention of all disorders that youth and companies of scholars (namely in banishment) are subject unto."

After unequivocally stating his belief that the then existing sects, Protestants, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, etc., would eventually follow the Arians, Macedonians, Pelagians and Donatists into disrepute, while the See of Peter would stand as firm and flourishing in this revolt of many peoples, as ever before, Allen goes further, and in his next sentence expresses the hope that if the Commonwealth ever comes to itself again, it will thank the men of the Seminaries "as much as now it blameth them."

In a writing which he was anxious the Queen and her Council should read, and which he knew would certainly come to Burghley's ken, the following statement appears more courageous than prudent. Allen gives as a reason for the existence of the colleges—

" For the better furnishing of mete men . . . and for disadvantaging the adversarie part therein, to draw into this college

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the best wittes in England, that were either Catholicly bent, or desirous of more exact education than in these daies in either of the Universities (where, through the delicacie of that sect, there is no art, holy or prophane, thoroughly studied and some not touched at all), or that had scruple of conscience to take the othe of the Queen's supremacie in causes ecclesiastical (which gave us divers, not only Catholics but others out of both the Universities, where it is specially exacted, and tormenteth the conscience of many that seem pure Protestants), or that misliked to be forced to the ministry, as the use is in divers colleges, a calling contemptible even in their own conceit, and very damnable in the judgment of others (the due consideration whereof hath yielded to us many, yea some scores, partly before, and partly after their entrance to that trade)."

The Grammar Schools throughout the country have sent here many youths who, when well trained prove no less servicable to their country than the others—and of the students generally Allen says—

"These youths (Gentlemen's sons specially) are much propense in our countrie (God be thanked for it. . . .) to the Catholic faith, and many adventure over to us without their parents' consent, and sometimes much against their wills; who, though they could be content to have their children better brought up than they can be at home, yet for feare of disfavour of the world, wherein they be more entangled than their sons, they refuse often to give them anie relief at all, feare sometimes overpassing their natural affection."

After an allusion to the practices of the adversary, "of which our removal from Douay gave us good experience," and to the great success of the missionaries in England "to the benefit and unspeakable solace of infinite persons," there is the following fine passage—

"And this they have done only by the power of the Priesthood, in spiritual, silent, and peaceable manner, and not with riots, tumults, or warlike concourse; they have done it as the Apostles and other holy men did in the primitive church, by travails, watching, perils feares of the lawes, feares of hurting their friendes, by contumelies, poverties, prisonments, fetters, dungeons, racks, deaths. And this the omnipotent God hath prospered exceedingly, though it seemed at the beginning a thing hard or impossible, the adversaries having so many yeares the lawes, the sword, the pulpits, and all human helps for them."

It is interesting to find the following pithy contemporary

view of the great schism: the Queen's proclamation had¹⁵⁸¹ declared the exiles to be living contrary to the laws of God and the realm—Allen's answer points out the discrepancy between the new religious observances and the old, and that it were “the pitifullest hazard and uncertaintie . . . so to hang on the Prince's will, or the lawes (commonly wholly thereon depending), that there could be imagined no nearer way to religion, than to believe what our temporal Lord and Master list”—

“And it is the turpitude of our nation before the whole world, whereat we blush before strangers, that sometimes fall into discourse of such things, that in one man's memorie and since this strange visitation began, we have had to our Prince [one] who abolished the Pope's authoritie by his laws, and yet in other points kept the faith of his fathers; we have had a child, who by the like laws abolished together with the Papacie, the whole ancient religion; we had a woman, who restored both again and sharply punished Protestants; and lastly her Majesty that now is, who by the like lawes hath long since abolished both againe, and now severely punisheth Catholics, as the other did Protestants; and all these strange differences within the compass of about thirty years.”

Allen recalls the protests of the whole body of the clergy when Elizabeth's first Parliament swept away the ancient faith, defined truths, and prescribed a new form “in most things agreeing with Zwinglianism, in some with Lutheranism,” and he calls it a “monstrous case” that, in the cause of religion, the sentence of laymen, “Noblemen, gentlemen, citizens and some artificers,” should have prevailed, “not only against all the bishops of the universal Church, but against their own prelates and pastors.”

There is so little evidence, and that of a contradictory nature, as to Henry VIII's disposition with regard to religion at the end of his life, that Allen's next statement—made directly to the Queen, and as to a matter of common knowledge—is valuable—

“Your Highness' noble father (as of worthy and wise men we have heard) was fully determined to give over the title of supremacie, and unite himself and his Realme to the See of the Apostle again: but being prevented by death, could not accomplish his most

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necessarie and honourable designment, and therefore, may be both an example and a warning to your Majestie." ¹

Elizabeth, in her proclamation of 10th January, 1581, had claimed that hers was the true religion, "grounded merely on the word of God" and alludes to the Catholic faith as grounded upon "men's fancies and vain traditions." Allen could not let the statement pass unchallenged: he remarks that the same was said to St. Augustine by the Arian Bishop Maximinus, and that every leader of sect—Anabaptist in Holland, Puritan, Brethren of Love and Protestant in England—"will oppose himself boldly against all the Church, with this pretext always, that *God's mere word* (so they call their Bible, falsely, corruptly, and deceitfully translated) must be followed before all men's doctrines and invention." He claims that the "private, singular, new and particular spirit" is fancy; and the "Common, universal, old and Catholic interpretation, is the true word of God."

The same proclamation, besides ordering the immediate return of all students from the colleges abroad, and forbidding their parents to send them any money or means of support if they remained away, declares that "Hereafter it shall not be lawful for any person, of what quality so ever to depart the realm without her Majesty's special licence." Next comes a clause against the Jesuits—

"Her Majesty having been given to understand that certain priests have lately repaired unto this realm by special direction from the Pope and his delegates, not only to corrupt and pervert her loving subjects in matters of religion, but also to draw them from their loyalty and duty and provoke them to attempt somewhat to the disturbance of the present quiet . . . as has been over-lately seen in Ireland, doth therefor notify that if anyone shall receive, succour or maintain a Jesuit, or not deliver him up . . . shall be considered as maintainers and abettors of such rebellious and seditious persons."

The proclamation ends with the promise of reward to all

¹ The fact that Katherine Parr, to the astonishment of the Venetian ambassador, as he reported to the Doge and Senate, left the king and retired to Greenwich a few days before his death, is strong corroborative evidence that Henry VIII was reconciled to the Church before his death.

informers, of "such sum of money, as shall be an honourable¹⁵⁸¹ due reward for so good service, besides her Majesty's most heartie thanks for the discharge of their dutie in that behalf." To this, which Allen styles "a most odious information against the Pope, his delegates and the Jesuits," he replies that though it be laudable and agreeable to their oaths that the Queen and her Counsellors should have good care, yet that to fear and doubt "such holy, peaceable and sweet endeavour of orderly good men should tend further than the good of souls . . . cometh of the adversaries untrue suggestion." He then says—

"Therefore we protest, that neither the rev. Fathers of the Societie of the holy name of Jesus, whom the people call Jesuits . . . neither the Priests, either of the Seminaries or others, have any commission, direction, instruction or insinuation from his Holiness, or any other their superior . . . to move sedition or to deal against the state or temporal government: but only by their priesthood and the functions thereof, to do such duties as be required for Christian men's soules, which consist in preaching, teaching, catechising, ministering the Sacraments and the like. . . ."

After asking how the saying of Mass or Matins, how confession, absolution, beads or other consecrated tokens of religion can have any affinity with treason, Allen protests that though the laws may make things treason which before were not, it is impossible to make these matters of mere religion in true and proper sense an offence of treason—

"But if in making such facts treason, the meaning be nothing else, but to make them punishable by death or otherwise; then we have the pitifullest injurie in the world, that being no traitors in deed yet we must suffer the ignominy and pains of treason: and so much the greater, that it is done by pretence of lawes, and public authoritie."

Allen asks why—though it be easy to find a staff to beat a dog—the offence of the Catholics is not treated as heresy rather than as treason, concerning as it does religion and conscience? and he opines that as the old laws were repealed for the better entrance of Calvinism—

"Ore because they cannot so easily determine, whether we be heretiks or our adversaries . . . therefore they thought it a nearer way to make us traitours . . . and to punish us for

pretended sedition and conspiracie, than for error in doctrine or heresie. . . .

"Therefore in all these cases pretended treasonable, we for ourselves and our brethren . . . do cry to God and all Christian people, which behold our afflictions and sufferings : that it is for religion . . . for the serving of God in the manner of all Catholic provinces, and not for treason, or disobedience to her Majestie's temporal lawes, or the Realme's."

The Jesuits, he remarks, go to all other countries, to the East and West Indies and many barbarous nations "with the same obedience, the same commission, the same intention, that they come now to England; they never committed treason nor disquieted the State where they came . . . They go to the Indies, or to any part of Turkey or Heatheness with no more danger than to England . . . whether they die for the one, or for the other, all is one matter to them."

Allen further undauntedly declares that they have sufficient men in the Seminaries, the Society, and other Universities to supply "all the wants that may fall in England from time to time, by the deaths, executions or imprisonments of such as now be, or hereafter shall be . . . restrained from the worke of Our Lord—

"For these terrors trouble them so little that divers, straight upon the arrival here [at Rheims] of the late Proclamation of January, came to their Superiors, to desire leave to go in, and being answered that the times were not seasonable, they said it was no Godamercie for a Priest to enter at other times, but that they were brought up and made speciallie for such daies : and nineteen persons the same week following took Holy Orders. Such is their desire : but for their going in, they shall be moderated as reason requireth."

With much force, Allen contrasts the rising of the North, of men driven to desperation by oppression, taking to arms "once in twenty-three years," with the repeated furious attempts and barbarous rebellions of the Calvinists and Protestants in Scotland, Flanders and France, to the ruin and desolation of the greatest part of those noble countries; or, nearer home, to the hazards to which the crown and sceptre of Queen Mary came by the Protestants during her reign, and

especially at the death of Edward VI, “their Zwinglian²⁵⁸¹ Bishops and clergy not only subscribing to the treasons, but preaching divers traitorous and seditious sermons in London, in the Universities and other famous places of the realm. He recalls Knox’s abominable treatise on “the Monstrous Regimen of Women”—“at once to defeat the Queen that then was, her sister that now is, the Queen of Scotland, and consequently the whole race of the renowned Henry VII.”

Of some of the sermons and publications uttered of late in England Allen severely remarks—

“Which neither the Old Comedie, nor Pasquino, nor any ruffian or Carnival youth in Rome, would speake without a vizard. So are the manners and the gravity of our forefathers altered, by this new preach, into Chaos condition.”

After a touching exhortation to his suffering fellow-countrymen who are either “in the furnace of probation, or in the burden or broil of that hot harvest of the Lord,” bidding them be “humble, wise, meek, peaceable, patient and constant,” according to the pattern of the glorious confessors who have sanctified their prisons by twenty-two years’ durance, and of the martyrs “who have persisted unto death,” he goes on—

“Blood so yielded maketh the forciblest means to procure mercie than can be. Every time that you confess Christ’s name, every wrench of any joint for it, every opprobrious scorn and scoffe given by the populace, when you be carried in the sacred vestments through the streets . . . make a stronger intercession for our countrie and afflicted Church, than any prayers lightly in the world.”

Allen ends by foreseeing the term of persecution to those who “suffer and hold out,” when it will please God to send a calm, which Allen will expect—“in twenty and twenty, and twice twenty to that, and how many more years soever appointed by Providence for chastisement of our sinnes.” Curiously enough, eighty years added to the date at which these words were written, bring us to the Restoration and treaty of Breda, giving freedom of conscience to Charles II’s Catholic subjects—a clause not faithfully observed, but marking nevertheless the dawn of a happier era.²⁵⁸²

The last words of the *Apologie* give to God—

“All honour, empire and glory; and to his holy Israel the Church, his peace and blessings: then tribute to Caesar, that is, all dutie, prosperitie and felicitie in Christ, to our noble Prince and most deare countrie.”

Elizabeth, in her proclamation of January, had grimly pointed to Ireland; and there can be no manner of doubt that Pope Gregory XIII's feeble and unfortunate attempt to help the Irish to throw off the Queen's yoke, could not but counteract in its effects that of any defence Allen might write, however full of truth and eloquence. That there might be no uncertainty as to his book coming immediately to the knowledge of the Queen and her ministers, Allen sent a copy through a merchant in Paris to the English ambassador, Sir Henry Cobham, who forwarded it to Walsingham; writing 15th June “I send it as I received it to you by this messenger.” The presence in Ireland of Dr. Sanders, one of the chief and best-known of the exiled clergy, “stirring up rebellion” against the Queen's authority was another potent factor; while Allen's own close and well-known connection with the late Don John of Austria, with Mary Queen of Scots and her ambassador, and with her cousin, the Duke of Guise, could not but militate against his character as peace-maker in the eyes of Elizabeth and Burghley. Indeed, from henceforward to the end of his life Allen appears as a man engaged in carrying on two different, and at times quite antagonistic trades, simultaneously with his two hands, while vainly trying to hide from the one what the other was doing.

The Jesuits, to whom Elizabeth had alluded in her proclamation as having lately arrived in England, were Robert Persons and Edmund Campion. They had arrived at Rheims on the 31st May, 1580, and it had been Allen's duty to inform them of the Pope's Irish expedition, which was supposed to be already on the way: a communication for which, strange as it may seem—considering that they had come straight from Rome—they were totally unprepared, and which not unnaturally filled them with dismay. We have Persons' own account of their feelings in his *Life of Father Campion*—

For:
Eliz., 1581,
No. 224

" Though it belonged not to us to mislike this journey of Dr. Sanders, because it was made by order of his superiors, yet were we heartily sorry, partly because we feared that which really happened, the destruction of so rare and worthy a man, and partly because we plainly foresaw that this would be laid against us and other priests, if we should be taken in England, as though we had been privy or partakers thereof, as in very truth we were not, nor ever heard or suspected the same to this day. But as we could not remedy the matters, and as our consciences were clear, we resolved through evil report or good report to go on with the purely spiritual action we had in hand; and if God destined any of us to suffer under a wrong title, it was only what He had done, and would be no loss, but rather gain, in His eyes who knew the truth, and for whose sake alone we had undertaken the enterprise." ¹

The instructions given to the two Fathers by their superiors before they left Rome, show how purely spiritual was their mission to England: " They must so behave that all may see that the only gain they covet is that of souls." They must not carry about with them anything forbidden by the penal laws—

" They must not mix themselves up with affairs of State, nor write to Rome about political matters, nor speak, nor allow others to speak in their presence, against the Queen—except, perhaps, in the company of those whose fidelity has been long and steadfast, and even then not without strong reason." ²

Well would it have been, if this purely spiritual warfare had alone been waged until the end—which might then have proved victorious. In Campion's case it was, and led him to a martyr's death and crown; within two years Persons had plunged into the sea of politics, and continued to swim in it until his dying day, twenty-eight years later.

¹ Failing to lay hands upon Dr. Sanders, the authorities arrested his sister. On the 18th November, 1586, John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, Sir Henry Radcliffe, and others wrote to the Council that they had apprehended and examined Elizabeth Sanders, sister of Dr. Sanders, with whom they found " certain lewd and forbidden books, and a protestation or challenge of the Jesuits. William Hoord, who first dispersed the said challenge, will not declare of whom he received the same." *Dom. Elizabeth*, Vol. CXLIV, No. 31.

² " Royal Archives, Brussels: *Inventaire des Archives du Province des Jesuites*," No. 1085. Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 140.

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Edmund Campion was received with rapture at Rheims : he had been away eight years, and had returned matured, but with the glamour undimmed of his vivid and winning personality. When Allen asked him to preach to the students in English, which he had not done for years, his sermon made the same profound impression as of old upon his hearers, and Allen wrote to Rome a few days later—

“ Whether he was inspired by his subject [*I came to cast fire on the earth*] or whether it was a miracle of memory, he spoke English as fluently and as correctly as if he had but yesterday come fresh out of England.”¹

There was no fanaticism in Campion’s zeal, nor did he make any concealment of his natural lack of courage : the flesh was weak, but the will was strong enough not only to overcome, but to own and make a joke of his fears. On arriving at Rheims and hearing of the Pope’s Irish expedition, and of the rash and unfortunate reprinting of the bull of excommunication, he saw that the dangers that awaited him in England were multiplied, and he went to Dr. Allen.

He asked him whether he thought his labours in England would countervail the long journey from Prague, as well as his absence from Bohemia, where he was not idle nor unemployed, and that also against heretics. Allen’s answer was unequivocal—“ My good father, your labours in Boemeland I doubt not were very profitable, yet I imagine that another man of your Society, or at least two or three, may supply the same. But towards England I verily hope that God will give you strength and grace to supply for many men : your obligation is greater towards your own country than towards any other, and the necessity of help more urgent ; the talents that God hath given you are more fit and proper for that than for any other land . . . doubt you not but that all is Christ’s holy providence for the best ; and so be you of good comfort.”²

Campion unhesitatingly accepted this opinion as conclusive, and when, seven days later, he started on his way, Allen could

¹ Simpson : *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 168.

² *Ibid.*, p. 167.

truthfully write to Father Agazzari that he, as well as Father Persons had gone off " full of ardour " ;¹ and there is an almost boyish ring in Campion's description to the General of his society of the successful dressing up of Persons in a captain's uniform of buff, with hat and feather to match—" Such a peacock, such a swaggerer . . . such a look, such a strut."

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII; " Allen to Agazzari," July, 1580.

CHAPTER X

1580-81

ONE of Allen's great objects in his last visit to Rome had been, as we have seen, to get bishops for England to supply for those who were dead or in durance, and Gregory XIII had consented to send Dr. Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, to be ordinary of all England.¹ With him went Dr. Morton, the penitentiary of St. Peter's, and four "old priests" of the English hospital—Dr. Brumberg, William Gibley, Thomas Crane, and William Kemp. The Bishop and Dr. Morton arrived at Rheims on the 24th May, a week before the two Jesuits.

Roman
Transcripts,
23rd April
and
27th May

Dr. Goldwell was an old man—in his eightieth year—and timid; and it soon became plain to Dr. Allen that he had lost heart and nerve for the perilous undertaking before him, and for which he had volunteered. Allen therefore advised him to go to Paris, and lay the case before the nuncio; meanwhile Dandini had received instructions from Rome to the effect that the Bishop of St. Asaph, having written from Bologna to the Pope that according to rumour Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, had been released from prison, and that therefore Goldwell's going was no longer necessary, Dandini is to tell him that even if the rumour be true, he is not to delay his journey, as England is a large enough province for two or three bishops. When Goldwell reached Paris, and told the nuncio he had received news from England that the Queen was minutely informed of his journey and his whereabouts, Dandini showed him the Cardinal of Como's letter; upon which he objected that he had neither briefs nor faculties, so would return to Rheims and await them. There he fell ill, and wrote

¹ Thomas Goldwell [1500 ?–1585], the last survivor of the ancient English hierarchy, was of ancient and gentle lineage, his family having held the manor of Goldwell, in the parish of Choot, in Kent, for several centuries. Sir John Goldwell, knight, was a commander in the reign of King John. Under Henry VIII, Goldwell left England and joined Reginald Pole in Italy, returning home with him in the time of Queen Mary. He was made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1555, and Mary appointed him to the see of Oxford a few days before her death.

twice to the Pope declaring his willingness to obey him in all things, even at the cost of his life :—if his journey to England could have taken place before his presence was known, he might have been of use and consolation to the Catholics, but now he fears he cannot get there without manifest danger. “ The most that I can hope to do,” he continues, “ is to supply for the City of London and some miles round—

Roman
Transcripts,
13th July
1580-81

“ And therefore, in my ignorance, I cannot but marvel how it is that, after God has given your Holiness grace, as it were, to plant anew and support the Catholic faith in that kingdom, you make so many difficulties about creating three or four titular Bishops to preserve and propagate it—a thing that might be done with as little expense as your Holiness pleases ; for God has so inclined the minds of the priests to spend their lives in promoting the reduction of that kingdom to the Catholic faith, that, after being made Bishops, they would be content to live as poorly as they do now, like the Bishops of the primitive Church. God inspire your Holiness to do that which shall be most to His honour, and prosper you many years.”

An outbreak of plague at this juncture served to raise Dr. Goldwell's fears to the point of panic ; and he determined to return to Italy without waiting for further instructions from Rome. Allen attempted to dissuade him ; at the same time admitting to Dandini that it were better the old man “ should yield to fear now than later on, at the other side.” This view seems to have been shared by the Cardinal Secretary, who wrote to Dandini on the 3rd October, announcing the Bishop's arrival in Rome, and concluding that we must take men as we find them.

ibid.,
14th Aug.

It is difficult to understand the hesitation of Rome as to the appointment of titular bishops when, as Dr. Goldwell truly points out in the above letter, there were many fit and worthy men for the office, among the hundreds of missionary priests at that moment in England. The interior reformation of the Church by the Council of Trent was gradually making its way, spreading like a breath from the everlasting hills into dark places, healing, cleansing, and vivifying. But the age was still that of the Leo Xs and the Wolseys, when the episcopal character had become so encompassed about and permeated

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by the pomps and splendours of secular rank and authority as almost to be oppressed by them: and it was as if men's minds could not contemplate the picture of bishops going afoot, staff in hand, in poverty, hardship and danger—rich and powerful only in their sacerdotal authority. Yet a little while, and Rome sent such bishops into England, but too late for the work of preservation which was then in hand.

Then, unfortunately, the strong expectation in Allen's mind, as well as in many other men's, that the subjugation of England and the restoration of the Church by Philip II was merely a matter of time, could not but have its own deterrent effect upon the question, and doubtless prevented him from urging it upon the Holy See as strongly as he would have done, had he foreseen the future more accurately. Pope Gregory XIII died in 1585, and there is reason to believe that had his life been prolonged, it was his intention to send titular bishops into England.¹

The news of the departure of the body of clergy from Rome had travelled to the ears of Walsingham, more quickly than they had travelled themselves. In a case where men's lives, and the success of their undertakings, depended mainly upon secrecy, it is astonishing to find how little care was taken to preserve it. Robert Owen, one of the Welsh exiles in Rome, wrote openly to Dr. Humphry Ely at Rheims to announce the departure of Bishop Goldwell and Dr. Morton, a few days after they had left—

Dom. Elis.,
18th April

"My Lord of St. Asaph and Mr. Dr. Morton are gone hence, some say to Venice, some to Flanders, and so further, which if it be true you shall know sooner than we here. God send them well to do whithersoever they go, and specially if they be gone to the harvest. The sale that Mr. Dr. Morton made of all his things maketh many think *quod non habet animum revertendi*. This day depart hence many of our countrymen thitherward, and withal good Father Campion."

This letter fell into the hands of one of Walsingham's agents, and gave the first intelligence of the mission to the English Government. It could not but increase the suspicion and

¹ Knox, I, p. 381. See *Bridgwater Concertatio*, p. 69, verso.

irritation caused by the Pope's doings in Ireland, and a consequent tightening ensued, of the screws of the machinery of oppression under which the unhappy Catholics lay. The proclamations of July and January were followed by the passing of fresh penal laws; the Parliament of 1581 passed an Act *For retaining the Queen's Subjects in their Due Obedience*, ^{23rd Elis., cap. 1} ¹⁵⁸⁰⁻⁸¹ by which it was made high treason to *withdraw any from the religion established*, or to have or pretend to have power to absolve or persuade them from their obedience to her Majesty, or from the established religion to that of Rome. A person saying Mass forfeited 200 marks with one year's imprisonment, and until the fine was paid. A person hearing Mass forfeited 100 marks with a year's imprisonment; he moreover had to pay £20 for every month he absented himself from Church.

Until this time the laws against the Catholics had been sufficiently murderous; but their administration and enforcement depended in the main upon the justices of peace and lieutenants of counties, who for the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign—except in comparatively rare instances—were inclined to connive at their evasion. From this time forward, such connivance became daily more difficult and hazardous; while the Catholics, as Mendoza wrote to Philip II, on the 6th April, 1581, vainly endeavoured to prove to the Queen that they did not desire a change of sovereigns: even offering her 100,000 crowns if the new statutes were not passed. Failing in this, they turned their eyes towards Philip “to succour them, until God should complete their liberation.” So anxious were they that Dr. Allen, or Dr. Sanders should be made a Cardinal, that one of the chief among them, so Mendoza ¹⁵⁸¹ was informed, had promised 1,000 crowns a year to aid in maintaining some such personage.¹

When Dr. Goldwell left Rheims, Allen charged him to do what he could with the authorities in Rome in favour of England. Writing on the 17th April the Bishop announces that he and the rector of the English college, Father Agazzari, had done their best with the Cardinal of Como: “But of him we

Knox,
II, p. 92

¹ *Spanish Calendar*, Vol. III, No. 79.

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could get no gret hope. My thynketh that ower cause dothe scant penetrat into these men."

Goldwell also delivered Allen's letter and a copy of his *Apology for the Seminaries* to the new protector of the English, Cardinal San Sisto, Morone having died at the end of the previous year.¹

The Bishop adds—

"I informed Father Rectore that out of England yow have byn prayed, to use no words nor termes towards the Quene but honorable, for feare lest it should turn to the poor Catholyces' more trouble at home."

The state of the Catholics in England was such as it had never yet been, as Mendoza wrote to Philip II on the 22nd August. "In virtue of the laws passed by this Parliament, they have begun to persecute the Catholics as they have never done before."

Simancas
Est. 835,
f. 17

We have seen that in her proclamation of January, Elizabeth's hearty thanks, as well as due pecuniary reward were promised to all informers. Moreover, both Walsingham and Burghley had each his private team of pursuivants and spies, perpetually engaged upon the chase of priests and their maintainers and friends. They are described as a small army, those which for twenty years Lord Burghley kept in his pay, while Walsingham at one time had fifty-three private agents in foreign Courts, besides eighteen spies whose functions could not be officially defined. His system of espionage at home was carried to perfection; reports from all parts of England reached him daily, and "his spies waited on some men every hour for three years: and lest they could not keep counsel, he despatched them to foreign parts, taking in new servants." His most confidential associate was Thomas Phellipes, an expert in deciphering, at whose house he was a constant visitor.

Lloyd's
Worthies

Dr. Jessopp thus describes the methods of the spies and informers—

"Armed with warrants from weak magistrates, who themselves were afraid of suspicion, or failing these, armed with an order

¹ Felippo Buoncompagni, nephew of Gregory XIII, whose letter appointing him protector of the English, is dated 31st December, 1580.

from the Privy Council, which was only too easily to be obtained, ^{MSB} they sallied forth on their mission of treachery. They were nothing better than bandits protected by the law, let loose upon that portion of the community which might be harried and robbed with impunity. In some cases the pursuivants, after arresting their victims and appropriating their money, were content to let them alone, and save themselves further trouble; in others they kept them till a ransom might come from friends; in any case there was always the fun of half-scuttling a big house and living at free quarters during a search, and the chance of securing a handsome bribe in consideration of being left unmolested for the future.”¹

The chief of them all, the torturer by profession, Richard Topcliffe, a man of a good Lincolnshire family, who from the year 1578 was regularly in Burghley’s pay, is justly called by Dr. Jessopp “the scourge and persecutor of Catholics”—

“The cruelties of this monster during the next quarter of a century would fill a volume, and the expedients he resorted to, to hunt down Recusants, Seminary Priests and Jesuits would be absolutely incredible were it not that the evidence of even his own admission is too strong to be controverted.”

It is no wonder, therefore, that Father Persons, on arriving in England, described the sufferings of the Catholics as terrible, while at the same time he admires their “incredible constancy—men, women, and even children, gentle and simple, being everywhere haled to prison, even the children put into irons. At the same time, he asks for bishops—

Roman
Transcripts,
March

“There is immense want of a Bishop to consecrate for us the holy oils for baptism and extreme unction, for want of which we are brought to the greatest straits; and unless his Holiness makes haste to help us in this matter, we shall be soon be at our wits’ end.”

It was into these troubled waters that Father Campion, disguised as a merchant and accompanied by Ralph Emerson, a lay-brother, entered on the 24th June, 1580, the feast of his patron, St. John Baptist—a few weeks after Father Persons’ safe arrival in England.

The first news sent of him by Dr. Allen to Agazzari bears

¹ A. Jessopp, D.D.: *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, pp. 69, 70.

1581

the date of the 30th November, and tells how persons lately arrived at Rheims had heard him preach in London at the beginning of the month "in a certain great house, before ninety-seven persons of good birth."¹

For five months, by a series of extraordinary escapes Campion evaded pursuit, and went about the country, through Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, preaching and reconciling many to the Church. His absence from England had not been long enough to obliterate his fame, and he had powerful friends at Elizabeth's Court—not counting his old patron Leicester—who often gave him timely warning of the measures taken against him.

In his letter to the General of the Society, describing his first journey through England, he testifies to the number and the excellence of the seminary priests he and Persons had met with—

"The harvest is wonderfully great . . . In the morning, after Mass, I preach; they hear with eagerness, and very often receive the Sacrament, for the ministration whereof we are ever well assisted by priests, whom we find in every place, whereby both the people are well served, and we much eased in our charge. The priests of our country, themselves being most excellent for virtue and learning, yet have raised so great an opinion of our society, that I dare scarcely touch the exceeding reverence all Catholics do unto us. How much more is it requisite that such as hereafter are to be sent for supply, whereof we have great need, be such as may answer all men's expectation of them! specially let them be well trained for the pulpit."²

1580-81

Campion was one of those who had most deprecated the excommunication of Elizabeth: he had candidly told Cardinal Gesualdi, when, on arriving in Rome he had been consulted on the practical effects of the bull, that it had been "very troublesome to the Catholics," and he and Persons had obtained copies of that mitigation, or rather explanation of it, from Pope Gregory XIII, which declared that it in no way bound the Catholics—"whilst things remain as they are—*rebus sic stantibus*": a clause which, while it relieved the minds of the

¹ *Catholic Record Society*: "Miscel.," Vol. VII.

² Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, pp. 247, 248.

recusants, was too easily to be understood as conveying the hope of political changes, to have much effect upon the minds of their adversaries. 1580-81

Campion had written, in view of his own practically certain capture, a challenge or declaration addressed to the Lords of the Council—and actually sent to them by a zealous but indiscreet friend, Thomas Pounce—which soon became so widely known as to be one of the chief topics of conversation. Written without preparation and in half-an-hour's time it was so "pithy in substance and style" that it was a triumph to one party and poison to another.¹ He solemnly declares that albeit unworthy, he is a priest and a Jesuit; that at the command of his superiors he has come to England on a "special kind of warfare under the banner of obedience," to preach the gospel, minister the sacraments, and instruct the simple; to reform sinners and to "cry alarm spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance." He never had mind, and is strictly forbidden by his superiors "to deal in any respects with matters of state and policy of this realm" as things not appertaining to his vocation, "and from which I do gladly estrange and sequester my thoughts."

He then asks, with all humility, to be heard by the Council, by chosen doctors of the two Universities, by lawyers spiritual and temporal, and even by the Queen, his sovereign lady herself. He concludes—

"And touching our Society, be it known unto you, that we have made a league—all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England, cheerfully to carry the cross that you shall lay upon us, and never to despair of your recovery while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons. The expense is reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted, so it must be restored."

It is therefore not surprising to find Campion writing in the above-quoted letter to the General of the Society—

"I cannot long escape the hands of the heretics; the enemies have so many eyes, so many tongues, so many scouts and crafts. . . .

¹ Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 225.

1580-81

I read letters sometimes myself that in the first part tell news that Campion is taken, which, noised in every place where I come, so filleth my ears with the sound thereof, that fear itself hath taken away all fear. My soul is in my own hands ever. . . . Marry, the solaces that are ever intermingled with the miseries are so great, that they do not only countervail the fear . . . but by infinite sweetness make all worldly pains, be they never so great, seem nothing. A conscience pure . . . a work so worthy, the number innumerable, of high degree, of mean calling, of the inferior sort, of every age and sex. . . . If we be commanded, and may have safe conduct, we will into the Court."

Knox,
II, pp. 95-98

Instead of a safe-conduct, the Queen launched two proclamations against the Jesuits, and the terrible game of hide-and-seek waxed ever hotter. And yet they were not caught when Dr. Allen wrote to Agazzari from Rheims, on the 23rd June, 1581, that though the persecution raged as fiercely as ever, and the Fathers specially searched for, they were still by God's singular providence, at liberty—

"But a Mr. Briant, who was a scholar of our college at Rheims, was not only taken, but twice most cruelly tortured on the rack to make him tell where that Jesuit [Campion] was. But so far from confessing anything of the sort, he laughed at the torturers; and though nearly killed with the pain, he said, 'Is this all you can do? If the rack is no more than this, you may bring a hundred more.'"¹

The most dangerous of the spies and informers were the false brethren, the apostates of the colleges of Rheims and Rome. One of these was John Nichols, a Welshman, a scholar of Brazenose College, Oxford, and a curate in Somersetshire in 1579. Thence he went to Antwerp, to Rheims and to the English College in Rome. He was sent back to Rheims in 1581, but returned to England and was arrested and sent to the Tower. There he made a public recantation of popery, and was received into the family of Sir Owen Hopton, Governor

¹ Alexander Briant [1553?-1581] was a native of Somersetshire. He was a pupil of Robert Persons at Oxford, and held a curacy in his native county. After his conversion he went to Douay, where he was ordained in March, 1577, being sent on the English mission in 1579, where he laboured in Somersetshire until taken by a party of pursuivants who were looking for Father Persons.

of the Tower. He was at first in such credit, that the Privy Council ordered that the English bishops should contribute among them £50 a year for his support. He published at least three books—his Pilgrimage, his Recantation, his Oration and Sermon made at Rome. 1580-1

The day after Alexander Briant's arrest, Nichols met Anthony Tyrell, a priest from the English College at Rome, in the street, and cried out "Traitor!" "And so took him," writes Allen in the above letter, and he was committed to the Gatehouse, "where he and Edward Rishton, another pupil of your college, live happily."¹ The Catholics were never more courageous, or more ready to suffer—

"The heretic, John Nichols, boasts that he made a long oration at Rome before the Cardinals (nothing can be more false), which he has lately published in his second book. . . . He now preaches publicly in London, but people are already tired of him; and I imagine he will soon be tripped up, especially when the abjuration of heresies that he made at Rome in the Inquisition comes to England; for I have received the copy of it which you sent . . . and have sent it to Father Robert. Father Robert wants 3,000 or 4,000 more of the Testaments, for many persons desire to have them. He says he earnestly hopes for and expects more fellow-labourers of your order: he says also that everything is going on well there, and that our *Apology* is vastly approved." 1581

Allen had the satisfaction of knowing, as he relates at the end of the above letter, that the head of the French mission at that moment in England for the marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and the young Duke of Anjou—or Alençon as he still continues to be called in the diplomatic correspondence—had given a copy of the *Apology* to the Queen to read; and that it was much read by both friends and adversaries.²

Allen enclosed letters to the Pope and to the new protector

¹ Anthony Tyrell, entered as *nobilis* in the *Douay Diary*, was ordained in Rome, and arrived at Rheims on the 16th October, 1580, leaving again for England on the 29th. He was released from prison in 1583, and returned to Rheims.

² On the accession of Henry, Duke of Artois, to the throne as Henry III, his sole surviving brother, Hercules Francis, Duke of Alençon, had succeeded to the title of Artois, and to his brother's pretensions to the hand of the English Queen.

of the English, Cardinal San Sisto. He gives Agazzari the following highly interesting summary of his letter to Gregory XIII—he has thanked him for his many favours this year, and particularly

“ For not listening to the detractors of the colleges and missions, who, to excuse their own idleness and cowardice, assert that all these attempts on our country are in vain ; and I show it to be sufficiently evident that these missions, and the endeavours of the Fathers and seminaries are of extraordinary utility ; and finally I assert and boldly pronounce, from the opinion, sense, and experience of all good men, that the Fathers and priests have gained more souls this one year in their own country than they could possibly have gained in the whole world else in the longest lifetime.

“ I write also that the dangers are not so great as to make it expedient to relinquish this duty, seeing that of the fifty priests (at least) who have this year been sent from the two colleges, not more than ten have fallen into the enemies’ hands, and up to this time the Fathers are altogether free and labouring fruitfully. . . . So much for the letter to the Pope. But to our Protector I merely write to beg him to turn his ears from certain idle and envious men, who say that the work of the Fathers and seminaries in our country is useless ; moreover, I beseech him for Christ’s sake not to forbid my sending five or six young men to that college next autumn, because ours has become so numerous, that we cannot anyhow feed them, although his Holiness has given us an extraordinary gift of 500 golden crowns. . . . At this very time we are obliged to send for twenty youths (for the most part gentlemen) from Douay to our college here at Rheims, who otherwise would have to return to England, to the manifest danger of soul and body, since, on account of the proclamation, they can get no money from England, and where shall we get bread that these may eat, that each may have only a little, lest they faint in this exile ? May our Lord bless and multiply our food.”

This letter can hardly have reached Rome when the blow had fallen upon Edmund Campion. He had filled up the measure of his iniquities in the eyes of Elizabeth and her Council by publishing his *Decem Rationes*—the ten reasons he would have expounded, had he been allowed the public conference he had previously asked for. On the 27th June, copies were found strewn on the benches of St. Mary’s Church, Oxford, more than 400 copies being distributed in this way or in gifts to different persons. The young Oxonians were

as tinder, says Simpson in his *Life of Campion*, and the book ¹⁵⁸¹ was just the sort of spark to set them in a blaze. Both friends and foes were agreed that it was a model of eloquence, elegance and good taste. He closes with a passionate exhortation to the Queen—

"Listen, Elizabeth, mighty queen. The prophet [Isaiah, *Queens shall be thy nursing mothers*] is speaking to thee, is teaching thee thy duty . . . join thyself therefore to them [her ancestors], be worthy of thy name, of thy genius, of thy learning, of thy fame, of thy fortune. Thus only do I conspire . . . against thee, whatever becomes of me, who am so often threatened with the gallows as a conspirator against thee."

The last words are addressed to the University men—his aim in this trifling present has been to purge himself of the suspicion of arrogance, and to show the grounds of his confidence. He gives a very intelligible hint that his readers know on which side truth lies, but are kept from confessing it by gold, glory and pleasure. He dates the pamphlet *Cosmopolis*, 1581. p. 300

The traitor who was to betray Campion was already at work—a certain George Eliot, a renegade Catholic, an ex-servant of the Dowager Lady Petre, Mother of Sir John Petre of Ingatestone, either for lust of gain, or as some of Campion's early biographers assert, to free himself by Court favour from a charge of murder, went to the Earl of Leicester, and communicated to him all that he knew, and much that he invented about the Catholics, including a plot to assassinate the Queen.

He furnished lists of priests and of recusants' houses, and declared his knowledge of the hiding-places. So he was furnished with full powers, with letters to all sheriffs and pursuivants, and with an experienced pursuivant to attend him (and to watch him). On Sunday, the 16th July, "Judas" Eliot, as he was afterwards called by both Catholics and Protestants, tracked Campion and two other priests, Ford and Collington, to the house of Mr. Yates at Lyford in Berkshire, and caused them to be arrested by a magistrate of the neighbourhood with a *posse comitatus* of a hundred men.

1581

Paraded through the streets of London in a mock triumph, their elbows tied behind them, and their feet under their horses' bellies, the three priests were carried to the Tower on the following Saturday, 22nd July, Campion, as leader, being further decorated with a paper stuck in his hat bearing the legend—*Campion the Seditious Jesuit*. Then followed his sojourn in the Tower, with its various episodes: the first few nights spent in the dungeon of "little ease," the frequent conferences with Protestant opponents, his secret summons to Court, and interviews with Leicester and Bedford, who had known and admired him at Oxford, and, as it came out at his trial, with Elizabeth herself, who asked him if he thought she was really the Queen of England; to which Campion answered that he did acknowledge her as his queen, *de facto* and *de jure*. As to the question of the Pope's right to excommunicate her—that terrible question propounded to all recusants at their trials—he confessed himself "an insufficient umpire between her Majesty and the Pope in so high a controversy, whereof neither the certainty is yet known, nor the best divines in Christendom stand fully resolved."¹ When the commissioners sent to examine him in the Tower made the like inquiries, and especially touching her supremacy—"I said, indeed," he declared at his trial—

"They were bloody questions, and very pharisaical, undermining my life; whereunto I answered as Christ did to the dilemma, "Give unto Caesar that which is due to Caesar, and to God that to God belongeth."²

So severe were the rackings—the first of which took place on Sunday, the 30th July—by which it was attempted to make Campion confess himself a traitor, or betray his friends, that after the third and last, which occurred on the 31st October, he was so cruelly rent and torn that he told a friend, who found means to speak with him, that he thought they meant to make away with him that way. And we have the evidence of Lord Hunsdon, that one might sooner pluck his heart out

¹ Simpson: *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 418.

² *Ibid.*, p. 419: Campion's speech at his trial.

of his bosom, than rack a word out of his mouth that he made ¹⁵⁸¹ conscience of uttering.¹

Then came the trial, with the Attorney-General's cynical remark that the Jesuits had arrived in England "as it seemeth of purpose to answer the doings of those rebels there," in Ireland; the testimony of the false witnesses Sledd, Nichols, Eliot and Munday, and the condemnation of Campion, with Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Briant on the 20th November, and their execution on the 1st December. The verdict was a foregone conclusion, which the ballad-mongers stigmatised—

"They pack'd a jury that cried guilty straight,
You bloody jury, Lee and all th' eleven,
Take heed your verdict, which was given in haste,
Do not exclude you from the joys of heaven."²

As soon as Dr. Allen heard of Father Campion's arrest, he wrote to Agazzari, 12th October, 1581, that all at the college were in grief at his capture and imprisonment—

"Still all are convinced that nothing has happened more happy or more wonderful for the advancement of religion. The more learned heretics are summoned from all the colleges to attack him and his companions with their questions and arguments, but even by the all but outspoken verdict of our enemies, he always emerges as victor; so that there seem no measures left for the foe except torture, spoliation and exile."³

When, on the other hand, the Jesuit authorities in Rome heard of the peril to which their members in England were exposed, they wrote to Allen that though grieved to hear of it, nothing could happen—

"Which either we who sent them, or they who have been sent did not already foresee as a contingency, and by courageous meditation have steeled themselves to bear should it come to pass."

And when Claudius Aquaviva was appointed General on the death of Everard Mercurianus [August, 1580] he

¹ More, iii, 38; Simpson, p. 391.

² William Lee, the foreman of the jury, was a man of wealth, but, as his letters to the Government show, an informer and a fanatic: *Harleian. MS.*, No. 6998, p. 182.

³ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

1581

wrote to Allen that he would have liked to go to England himself—

“ But I will strive hard, by appointing other labourers who are better and more pleasing to God, to satisfy my duty, and also my love towards that nation. And so lately we have despatched thither Father William [Holt] and Father [Jasper] Heywood, two, who in my judgment and that of all, were men of tried virtue. . . . If anyone occurs to you as suitable, your reverence would do me a favour by helping us with your advice.”¹

And upon hearing of Campion’s arrest, Aquaviva writes to Allen—

1581-2

“ We even hope that, inasmuch as there is more merit in enduring torture than toil, so for the conversion of that people, Father Campion will have greater influence in prison and being racked, than on the platform or by preaching, or any of his former occupations. May our Lord . . . only grant him strength and fortitude to make a good confession for His name’s sake.”

He adds that he is glad to hear Father Heywood and his companion arrived in England in time to console Persons and lighten his labours.²

Dr. Allen determined to write the history of Campion and the other martyrs.³ He wrote to Agazzari on the 17th July, 1582, that he was constrained to do so. It must be written in English first, “ for our people desire this very much, and send me information for it,” and afterwards it must be published in Latin, if Agazzari can find some one in Rome to translate

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

² Jasper Heywood, the epigrammatist, had entered the Society in 1562, and had been employed in Germany, far from the centre of ecclesiastical politics. He was a doctor in theology, and deeply versed in theoretical controversy. He was a very laborious man, and, in the judgment of Allen’s brother, Gabriel, the most successful, after Campion, of all the missionaries. He himself wrote to Allen that he wondered at the number of conversions he made: *Stupeo hic in captura piscium, quia homo peccator sum*.

William Holt was a Lancashire man, educated at Oxford till 1575, when he crossed the seas and went to Douay, where he studied theology and was ordained, after which he went to Rome and became a Jesuit in 1578.

³ Edmund Campion and his companions were beatified by Pope Leo XIII in 1886.



ELIZABETHAN SUPER-ALTAR FOR IMPROVISED ALTAR WITH
PORTABLE STONE USED IN TIMES OF PERSECUTION

In the possession of Joseph Gillow, Esq.

it. He describes the constancy of those who have suffered for the faith as quite equal to that of the ancient martyrs—¹⁵⁸¹⁻²

“Their fortitude has marvellously moved and changed all hearts. Men of good will and moderation are repentant, the wicked and the enemies are amazed. Loud, indeed, is the cry of sacred blood so copiously shed. Ten thousand sermons would not have published our apostolic faith and religion so winningly as the fragrance of these victims, most sweet both to God and man. The other prisoners have become more courageous, our men are more ready, the harvest increases. With labour and constancy, and God as our leader, we shall conquer. . . .”^{Knox, II, p. 148}

“Fresh matter for my book is constantly being sent to me. The labour of it, however, all but kills me, for my strength is hardly equal to taking care of the college and the interests of my countrymen.”¹⁵⁸²⁻³

On the 3rd September he wrote that he sent the complete book of the martyrs. The sheets he had already sent as they were printed. After another year had elapsed, he writes in August, 1583, explaining why he has been so slow to continue his work, and why so much has to be passed over in silence—^{ibid., p. 160}

“We have a difficulty in publishing all that we have written; grave dangers ensue to the Catholics from any detailed description of their persons or affairs. Their names, rank, and holy deeds should indeed be published, and might be read with pleasure and profit. But the Catholics will not allow it, lest they be betrayed by these indications, and hurried off to prison or even to death. . . . As soon as ever such things are published, much sooner than anyone would believe, they come to the notice of our enemies.”^{ibid., p. 203}

Very interesting are the details Allen gives on the all-absorbing subject of Campion's death. Writing to Aquaviva, General of the Jesuits, on the 1st January, 1582, that whilst Campion had lived his soul had been filled with solicitude,

¹ Allen's book was entitled: *A Briefe Historie of the Martyrdom of 12 reverend priests*, etc. Printed 1582. The same appeared in Latin under the title: *Brevis narratio felicitis agonis, &c.*, at Prague, 1583. (See Lowndes' *s.v. Martyrs*.) “This English book is that out of which was translated into Italian: *Historia di 16 Martiri stampata a Macerata*, 1583; the last four martyrs being added by the translator.” Note by F. Christopher Greene, S.J.: *Stonyhurst MSS.*, p. 159.

1582-3

but now his glorious death—all too soon for his native country—and that of his fellow martyrs is a subject for congratulation for Allen himself, for the Society, for the colleges and the Church universal—

" Father Campion, by his frequent torturing on the rack, was so strained in his back and loins, and so unstrung in muscles and limbs that he could neither stand upright, nor use his hands to convey food or drink to his mouth. When for nine hours on end he had stood at the bar, and had pleaded for their innocence against the charge of treason and conspiring the death of the Queen and had with wonderful dexterity and intellectual skill rebutted the charge; one of the gentlemen who were present proffered a cup and, with most loving obeisance, held it to the holy confessor's mouth, until nature was refreshed, by which act of charity he was much solaced and very many of the bystanders were edified. One who was present told me this."¹

As was Queen Elizabeth's wont in dealing with her Catholic subjects, she had held a scourge in one hand and a lure in the other. A few weeks before Campion's execution, her suitor, the young Duke of Anjou, arrived in London with a suite of sixty persons, and the Catholics could not believe that the marriage with the only brother of the most Christian King would not result in some measure of toleration for themselves; attempts were even made to induce him to intercede for Campion's life. On the other hand, Elizabeth found herself, for the first time in her reign, unpopular with her Protestant subjects, to whom the idea of a Catholic king-consort and of any measure of toleration was as gall and wormwood, while to renounce the French match at that particular moment would have been to throw France into the arms of Spain. To these considerations was Campion offered as a sacrifice, in the opinion of most of his contemporaries.

Roman
Transcripts :
Kal.,
April, 1581

The Pope had sent Monsignor Castelli, Bishop of Rimini to succeed Dandini as nuncio in France, and with special instructions to see the Duke, and if possible to dissuade him from the match—" which would be odious to God and shameful before men, as the heresy and evil life of that woman were so notorious

¹ *Catholic Record Society : Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

that no one could have *pratica* with her without sin." A few ¹⁵⁸²⁻³ months later, the Cardinal of Como wrote to the Bishop of Rimini that the Pope would give his blood to help the oppressed Catholics of England, and the nuncio is to do his utmost with Henry III and the Queen-mother to get them to intercede with Elizabeth. Roman
Transcripts,
12th June

How far the marriage negotiations went, we see from an amusing account sent by Mendoza on the 25th November 1581: Elizabeth and Alençon have publicly exchanged kisses and rings, and the Queen has called him her husband before the French ambassador; but Mendoza is still incredulous—

"As for the kisses, which some people consider conclusive, kisses are coin in that country which are paid with greater liberality than metal ones."¹

Mendoza was right—the Bishop of Rimini, who had been informed that the wedding-day was actually fixed, wrote again, on the 19th December, that the match was at an end. The Queen had told the Duke, after the exchange of kisses and of rings, that she loved him exceedingly, but on maturer consideration she did not think it would be a good thing for him, he being the only brother of the King of France; that they would probably not have children, etc., therefore the marriage had better go no further. As a consolation, she would help him with money and men for the enterprise in the Low Countries on which he was bent. This, while satisfying the Duke's youthful ambition, would further embroil matters for the King of Spain. *ibid.*,
19th Dec.,
1581

And as if the unfortunate English Catholics were to be spared no humiliation and no temptation, they found that the Duke of Anjou and his suite did not scruple to attend the Queen's service in the Chapel Royal, and that several of his gentlemen attended service at Westminster Abbey; while a decree was published by the Queen that none but the household of the Duke might hear Mass.²

¹ Roman Transcripts: *Nunziatura di Germania*, 103.

² *Ibid.*: "Como to Rimini," 19th February, 1582. "Mendoza to Philip II." *Simancas Est.* n. 204, f. 27 and 227, f. 64.

1582-3

In the meantime, George Gilbert, a young man of great wealth, who had been converted to Catholicism during a visit to Paris in 1579 by Dr. Thomas Darbishire, S.J., had founded an association of young Catholic men, who bound themselves to perform the two functions of preparing Protestant converts and conducting and helping the priests. The association was blessed by Gregory XIII, in April, 1580, and its members were known as "subseminarists," "conductors, companions and comforters of priests, lay brothers." In May, 1581, Gilbert was forced to fly the country; he passed through Rouen, where he gave 400 crowns to the English nuns, and went on to Rheims where Allen received him with joy. His destination was Rome, and Allen gave him a letter for Agazzari, introducing him as "that perfect gentleman, George Gilbert," and saying that if there is anyone of all the gentry of England who deserves well of the Colleges, of the Fathers and of the Church he is that man—

1581-3

"He has faced every danger and endured with joy the spoliation of his goods. Almost all that was left, whether in goods or lands, he has made over to support the Fathers and to help the Catholics. Seeing also how we were in difficulties here, he has helped us handsomely this very year. . . . He has now hardly anything left of a very great income, except the money which, some months ago, he transferred to you.

"Wherefore I beg you to treat him with all honour, both in my name and that of all Catholics, when occasion shall serve. . . . All his winning qualities, if he stays long with you, you will I trust get to know to your great consolation."¹

Gilbert entered the English College at Rome as a pensioner, and devoted himself to the affairs of religion in England; and Gregory XIII often summoned him to his presence. To him Allen wrote from Rheims on the 15th Jan., 1582, giving him an interesting account of the state of affairs, which Gilbert is to convey to the rector of the college, and to the Pope. He has been warned to take care of himself and beware of treachery, even to go away to Douay; but he has no fear, and will not

Knox,
II, p. 109

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*: Vol. VII. "Allen to Agazzari," 30th August, 1581.

leave his people. The Spanish ambassador wrote that one of the intended conditions of the marriage with Anjou was the removal of his college not only from Rheims, but from the French dominions: but the marriage is off, so he hopes to hear no more about it. There are 120 souls in the college this year: the Pope's ordinary provision only suffices for forty students, a totally insufficient number for the work that has to be done, and he has no hope whatever of receiving anything from England: every day persons, noblemen and others, are arriving at Rheims to escape the persecution; He continues—

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"I had formerly a prebend in Flanders, and something of my own from England, upon which I lived and could help the college; now I, my nephew and my servant live at the common charges of the college, having nothing else: and in order that the heretics may not see us sending away our students out of necessity, there are thirty of our company who live on one *scudo* a month and the fragments from our table rather than leave us."

The nephew mentioned in the above letter was John Allen, only son of George Allen of Rossall Grange, who had died in 1579. He was the last of his line to die in the house of his fathers, and his son left England and arrived at Rheims on the 18th September, 1581. He subsequently went to Pont-à-Mousson, where he died on the 24th June, 1585. Mrs. George Allen and her three young daughters remained at Rossall Grange.

Knox,
I, p. 182
ibid.,
p. 206

In the autumn of 1583, the Pope entrusted some matter of high import to George Gilbert, which necessitated his going to France: his ultimate destination being England, as was generally supposed. He was eagerly making his preparations, when he was seized with an acute fever the day before setting out, and died, after seven days' illness, on the 6th October in the twenty-fifth year of his age. A few hours before his death he was received into the Society of Jesus, and Aquaviva wrote to announce his death—

"His conspicuous and ardent piety and virtue are to us most certain pledges that he has been raised to the state of glory, where he not only rests from his labours and reaps the eternal reward of his labours, but that the same patronage over his country which he exercised here on earth by prudence, toil and energy, he will

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. . . . manifest with richer and more bountiful effect. . . . More-over Gilbert dedicated himself altogether to our Society and bequeathed to it 800 crowns."

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Aquaviva thinks that "with England's troubles so great and of the character they are," the whole sum had better be transferred to the service of that nation. So Allen is asked to decide where the money can be "most profitably allotted, whether to the college at Rheims, to individual persons, or for the needs of some that dwell at Rome." He adds that he has summoned two fathers, one from Spain, and Gibbons from Germany, to send to Allen, who, when it seems suitable to him, is to let them, "with God's help, cross over to England." He has ordered Father Jasper [Heywood] to France to confer with Allen and Persons.¹

Gregory XIII declared Gilbert's premature death to be a serious blow to Catholicity in England; and among the notable works he accomplished in his short life, was the covering of the walls of the English College in Rome with the realistic pictures of the English martyrdoms, which he caused to be painted at a great expense, and which are still to be seen there.

Knox,
II, pp. 64-65

Soon after the transference of the English College from Douay to Rheims Allen, with the Pope's permission, had set Gregory Martin to work on a translation of the Bible. He frankly admitted, in his often-quoted letter to Dr. Vendeville, that for his own part, he thought it might have been better that the Scriptures should not be translated into the vernacular; but nowadays that men's curiosity had been aroused, and the heretics had put forth so many corrupt and erroneous versions, it was necessary that they should have a correct and faithful Catholic text rather than use corrupt translations to their peril. As a learned theologian, Canon Lawrence Toole, D.D., reminds us—

"There were at that time, in English, so many varying versions of the Scriptures, rendered so as to promote the theological fancies of the translators, not to promote the truth. The object of this

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII. Gall. Ep. Gen., f. 29.

translation was to supply as correct a copy of the Sacred Scriptures ¹⁵⁸³ as possible in English, to console the Catholics, and to undeceive those misled people who thought that, in the corrupt texts which they possessed, they had copies of the word of God. Its effect was to put an end to the use of such translations as Wycliff's, Cranmer's, the Geneva, and the Bishops' Bibles, and to bring forth King James's, now [1872] called the authorised version. The Rheims ¹⁵⁸²⁻³ New Testament, published in 1582, showed the necessity for this, but it was not until 1611, two years after the printing of the whole Douay Bible, that this 'Authorised version' appeared. The translators of it had the advantage of Mr. Martin's labours before them, and that they availed themselves of it is clear from their many adoptions of his renderings in preference to those already in use."¹

The *Douay Diary*, on the 16th October, 1578, states that on ^{p. 145} that day Gregory Martin began his translation, which was revised and corrected, page by page as it proceeded, by Dr. Bristow and Allen himself. In March, 1582, we find the brief entry, *Hoc ipso mense extrema manus Novo Testamento Anglice edito imposita est*. The three years' unremitting labour exhausted the strength of Gregory Martin, while on Allen had fallen the arduous task of collecting the necessary funds for the publication. In his letter to George Gilbert of the 15th January, 1582, he wrote—

"The printing of the Testament, which I thought would cost 1,000 *scudi*, will cost 500 more [about £5,000 of our money]. . . . Martin has also written a little book, in which he has collected all the corruptions and falsifications made by the heretics in their Bible, and this also must be printed, otherwise we cannot serve our country as she needs."

Martin's book was entitled *A Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretics of Our Days*, 1582, and in it he shows that in the translations from the Hebrew and Greek by English Protestants, the text was purposely corrupted "for the more show, and maintaining of their peculiar opinions against Catholics." He points out in

¹ *Tablet* : XXXIX, 585. In the preface to the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881, it is acknowledged that Martin's work left its mark on every page of the labours of James I's company of revisers.

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his preface the five kinds of abuse or corruption common to all heretics, but especially to the English Protestants:—denying certain books, or parts of books: doubting of the authority of certain books: voluntary expositions according to every one's fancy or heresy: changing words or sentences from the original text: false and heretical translations.

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One of the chief charges brought against the language of the Douay Bible, by Catholic as well as Protestant critics, is the use of Latinisms; but in his preface Martin forestalls the objection: he gives his reasons for following the Vulgate, and accounts for the Latin words and phrases. He adhered to the Vulgate because it had been declared authentic by the Council of Trent; and lest any inefficient English representative of a Latin expression should make him "miss the true sense of the Holy Ghost," he preferred to retain those forms, thinking it safer to educate English readers to their meaning, than to endanger their true sense by the use of more familiar words. The excuse sometimes made for these Latinisms is that the translator and revisers were in exile—they have even been termed foreigners—and grown unfamiliar with their native tongue. Such apologists have not studied the question. The translator and his revisers were, without exception, noted Oxford men and, all but Allen, had left the University within (so to speak) a very few years. It would be absurd to suppose that, whilst living in an English community in the daily use of the English language, their tongues could have forgotten their art. Their language has missed the music of the authorised version of 1611, when the passage of half-a-century had clarified and enhanced the richness and the beauty of the English in which Shakespeare and his contemporaries wrote; but, in the words of an American critic of the nineteenth century, "Martin's translation is terse, close, vigorous, grand old English of the very best era of English literature, coeval with Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Spencer."¹ It must be confessed that Challoner and other later Catholic editors have

¹ "English Translators of the Bible": *Catholic World*, New York, November, 1870.

done much—if not to spoil—at least not to improve Martin's translation, a view which has the high authority of Cardinal Wiseman.¹

The first edition was a large one, and eagerly expected ; as we saw by Allen's letter to Agazzari of 23rd June, 1581—more than six months before its appearance,—that Father Persons had written from England asking for 3,000 or 4,000 *more* of the Testaments.²

The Old Testament did not appear until 1609, when it was published by Dr. Thomas Worthington, then President of Douay College, with his own notes and historical tables.

It would be no exaggeration to say that both Dr. Bristow and Gregory Martin spent their lives over their arduous task. Bristow broke down immediately after the completion of the New Testament ; he was ordered to try the effect of his native air and managed, though at great peril, to return to England, where he died of consumption at Harrow on the 15th October, 1581, at the age of forty-three. The following year, on the 16th April, 1582, Allen wrote to Agazzari : " I fear lest we may also lose Martin, as far as this world is concerned, for he has fallen ill of the very same sickness of which Bristow died." Allen's fears were verified within the year, his faithful friend and fellow-worker dying on the 28th October. His obsequies were solemnly performed in the Church of St. Stephen, the funeral oration being pronounced by Dr. Allen himself.

Knox,
II, p. 128

Deprived of Bristow, his right hand, and of Martin, one of his most valuable assistants, almost at one stroke, Allen wrote to Rome to ask that Dr. Richard Barret might come to Rheims. His arrival there on the 3rd November, 1582, was hailed with great satisfaction by the president, who wrote to Agazzari two days later that Barret's presence would

ibid.,
p. 168

¹ See Gillow : *Dic. Cath. Bio.*, Vol. IV, pp. 487-490, and *Dublin Review*, July, 1910 : " *The Origin of the Douay Bible*," by the Rev. Hugh Pope, O.P.

² See page 212. The New Testament was re-edited in 1600, 1621, 1633, 1638, 1788 (Liverpool), 1816-1818 (Ireland—mainly Challoner's edition). Dr. Challoner revised the Rheims edition, and published six editions himself between 1749 and 1777.

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alleviate much of his bodily and mental labours. Six years later, on the 28th November, 1588, letters were received at Rheims from Cardinal Allen, appointing Dr. Barret president of the college, "who was accepted with unanimous consent and applause," says the Douay diarist.

CHAPTER XI

ON the 28th March, 1582, Sir Henry Cobham, English ambassador in Paris, wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham that Dr. Allen¹⁵⁸² "and others of our wandering Englishmen" had repaired to Paris from Rheims to obtain the benevolence and liberality of all men towards the maintenance of their seminary; following the Pope's brief, recommending the same to the charity of the universal Church. "So their preaching friars this Lent exhort the principal personages and the people to bestow alms on the English Romanists."

For :
Eliz., 1582
No. 634

Allen's visit to Paris had another motive :—a hope had arisen that by way of Scotland a solution might be found for the English enterprise. The arrival in Scotland at the end of 1579 of Esme Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, a Catholic by religion and a Frenchman by education, and the influence he quickly attained over his young cousin James VI—who showered honours and appointments on him, besides creating him Earl and then Duke of Lennox—had been followed by the sending to Scotland by Father Persons of the Jesuit William Holt, and a secular priest, William Watts.¹ The latter sent a written report of the state of religion as he found it in Scotland to Dr. Allen, who forwarded it to the Pope, writing at the same time to Mendoza in London, begging him to do the same; so that greater pressure might be placed on the Pope to act in the matter, and to order the General of the Jesuits to appoint fit

¹ William Holt, born in 1545, was a native of Lancashire, and was at Brasenose and Oriel Colleges, Oxford. In 1573 he was incorporated M.S. at Cambridge. Becoming dissatisfied with the new religion to which he had conformed, he fled to Douay in 1574, and was ordained in March, 1578. He joined the Jesuits the same year, and was sent to England, with Jasper Heywood, after July, 1581. He made many converts in Staffordshire before being sent on his special mission to Scotland by Father Persons.

William Watts was a secular priest, ordained at Douay in March, 1578, and sent on the English mission the following August.

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persons for the task.¹ Father William Creighton, S.J., a Scotchman by birth, was consequently despatched from Rome early in 1582, and in an interesting letter from the Duke of Lennox [d'Aubigny] to Pope Gregory XIII, dated Dalkeith, 7th March, he expresses his pleasure at the arrival of Father Creighton and another priest, and his regret that he cannot welcome them as he would: "the misery of these realms being that there seems no chance of re-establishing religion, until a passage is made by arms." The rage of the preachers and the fervour of the populace are such that the Catholics are obliged to dissimulate; although in Scotland, as in England, the Catholics are more numerous than the heretics, the fury of the heretics and the power of the Queen of England hold them in such terror, that they dare not lift their heads.

D'Aubigny had thoughts of leaving Scotland and his young cousin, the King, and retiring to France for the good of his soul, when Father Creighton's discourse in the name of his Holiness, and the same assurances from the King of Spain through his ambassador in London, determined him to embrace the cause of God and the Church, and to re-establish the Catholic faith even at the cost of his life. He has drawn up a plan of campaign which he sends herewith. He gives a pleasing picture of the young King, now in his fifteenth year; he is of *belle espérance et bon esprit*, and when his bad surroundings are removed he will do well.

Lennox has taken no one into his confidence, except the Earl of Huntley, who is a good Catholic and most powerful in the kingdom, and the Lord of Seton, both of whom have promised to serve him in this quarrel. The plan of campaign, which was drawn up by Creighton, has three objects—the greater glory of God and the restoration of the Catholic religion in Scotland, England, and Ireland: the deliverance of the Queen of Scots: the restoration of their estates to the exiles and prisoners for religion. In order to carry this out he must have a foreign army of 20,000 men, arms, munitions, etc., eighteen months' pay for the army, which is to be commanded

¹ *Spanish Calendar*: "Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip II," 17 December, 1581; Vol. III, No. 183.

by the King, with Lennox as his lieutenant. "I undertake," ¹⁵⁸² he continues, "that as soon as his evil counsellors are dismissed, he will agree in religion as in other things with our wishes." The English Catholics should take up arms at the same time, and place themselves under his, Lennox's conduct; the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Dacres and the other exiles in France and the Low Countries should be sent over to him at the proper time, to raise their friends and dependants. Numerous other details are given, and he ends with the express condition that he shall be assured by letters from the Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow, that the enterprise is approved by the Queen of Scots—"in which case," he declares, "I will deliver her from prison, or die in the attempt."

For preliminary expenses, and for the safeguard of the King's person and his own, the sum of 20,000 crowns is to be paid into the hands of his cousin M. de Monberveaulx, gentleman of the chamber to the King of France. He has not dared tell the King of Scots of the plan because of the secret, for he is still a child, but he can promise to get him to do as he wishes, ^{Roman} having him in his hands. ^{Transcripts}

Father Creighton was also the bearer of a letter from Alexander Seton, son of Lord Seton, to Gregory XIII, in which he praises the young King and Lennox, and corroborates the latter's statements, "Very few are heretics by conviction, they are heretics chiefly in order to hold on to the Church property they have seized." The only thing to be done is for the Pope and the King of Spain to send a force into Scotland. Everything depends upon speed.

The consent of Mary was assured; and lest there should be ^{ibid.} any unnecessary delays, she wrote to her ambasador, the Archbishop of Glasgow, from Sheffield, 2nd April, 1582, saying she thinks it dangerous to write direct to the Pope as her letter might be intercepted. The credit she has given the Archbishop with the Pope in all important affairs is sufficient, and he is never to lose time by writing to get her approval, but to do his part in all negotiations tending to the honour of God, the restoration of religion, the preservation of her own life, and the return of her son to the Catholic faith.

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Father Persons had meanwhile left England—never to return—shortly after Campion's death. His opponents attributed his departure to cowardice, but of his cool and determined personal courage there can be no question. His own reasons, given in his anonymous *Brief Apologie*,¹ were that he had many points of moment to be conferred by word of mouth with Dr. Allen, as namely to hasten the edition of the English New Testament, for the which he had procured him £300 from certain Catholics in England: the manner also of continuing and upholding the English mission, "he having observed divers things of weight . . . but not so easy or safe to be imparted by letters": the Queen of Scots having procured that he should get Fathers of the Society sent into Scotland, it was thought very necessary that he should pass over to Rouen, to confer with Father Creighton and Father Edmund Hayes before they went there.

The chief reason of Persons' abandonment of the spiritual campaign in England, which had resulted in the reconciliation of some 25,000 persons in little more than a year to the Catholic Church, was doubtless his determination to substitute a political campaign, with force of arms, for that in which Campion and his fellow-martyrs had fallen.

Knox,
II, p. 129

Persons spent the winter at Rouen, and from there went more than once to the Château d'Eu to see the Duke of Guise, who, ever since the year 1578, had had it in his mind to attempt the rescue of his kinswoman the Queen of Scots.²

When Father Creighton arrived at Rouen on his way from Rome to Scotland in January, 1582, Persons took him to the Duke of Guise at Eu to confer with him "about the advancement of the Catholic cause in England and Scotland, and the deliverance of the Queen of Scots, then prisoner." Creighton returned from Scotland in April with letters and credentials from the Duke of Lennox to the Duke of Guise: he had conferred with Dr. Allen and the Archbishop of Glasgow at St. Denys, and then went immediately to Rouen, where

¹ *A Brief Apologie in Defence of the Catholic Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, published at Antwerp in 1601.

² Teulet: *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne*, V, p. 144.

Persons carried him to the Duke of Guise, who received Lennox's letter "with full contentment." The Duke and Creighton thereupon started for Paris, Persons being detained a few days at Rouen by an attack of fever. The Duke held a conference in Paris at which were present the papal nuncio, Mary's ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Spanish ambassador de Tassis, Dr. Allen, and Father Claude Matthieu, provincial of the Jesuits in France; it was there determined that Father Creighton should go to Rome, and Father Persons to Philip II.¹

Allen wrote to the Pope and to the Cardinal of Como, recommending Creighton and his mission, while the nuncio, Castelli, Bishop of Rimini, reported to the Cardinal on the 8th May that the Duke of Guise had been with him twice; that he is ready to make a sudden assault upon England from his own coast [Normandy], and having a good understanding with the Catholics in England, he hopes to have such a number of persons, and of such quality, that they will suffice to do everything that is required. But little is needed to raise the Catholics in Scotland; they are quite prepared to rise and the Duke of Lennox—Monsieur d'Aubigny—is beyond measure desirous to change the state of things. After mentioning the number of troops the Duke thinks necessary for Scotland and other details, the nuncio continues—

"This should be communicated by our Lord the Pope to the Catholic King, whose agent in England [Mendoza] promises great assistance.

"This is what the Duke of Guise wishes me to signify for the moment, as nothing further can be done just now owing to the illness of F. Robert [Persons] who has arrived from England, where he has had this affair in hand for the last two years, and has in his

¹ Henry of Lorraine, third Duke of Guise [1550–1588], head of the Catholic party in France. A valiant soldier and very popular, he had distinguished himself at Jarnac and in the defence of Poitiers in 1569. He was the instigator of the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. A wound in the cheek, received at the battle of Dormans in 1575, allowed him to claim the proud title of *le Balafré*, as his father had done after the siege of Boulogne in 1545, when he was wounded in the forehead.

mind all that should be done, and will come hither from Rouen, where he has been suffering from fever these few days past."

Castelli expresses the hopes of these gentlemen, that his Holiness will not miss so fine an opportunity of bringing back two kingdoms to the faith of Christ; that as Gregory I won England for Christ, so Gregory XIII may have the fame and merit of winning it back, and freeing the miserable Catholics, who are outraged every day.

A week later Persons arrived in Paris, and with Father Creighton called upon the Spanish ambassador. Tassis reported the interview in a letter to Philip II, dated the 18th May. The Scotchman gave in the Duke of Lennox's plan as we already know it, and Persons drew a lively picture of the extreme desire of the Catholics in England that Scotland should take up arms: if this were done, with a well-grounded hope of success, they would do the same, and hasten to the camp which would be formed in Scotland. When Tassis asked what security he had for all this, and whether any of the principal men had formed a confederation for the object, and given each other some security of signatures as the custom was, Persons' answer was vague—he knew it from what many of them had told him when treating of their consciences: he had no doubt about it: most certainly England was very well disposed at the present moment for the attempt;—vague and general answers which, however vehemently and positively expressed, were not calculated to carry conviction to the mind of the prudent ambassador. Persons also told him that it would be advisable to appoint a Catholic bishop for the important see of Durham, which had great jurisdiction, and that Dr. Allen would be the most fit and proper person.

When de Tassis inquired if they meant to take the King of France into their counsels, the answer was, certainly not; it would be the ruin of the affair "owing to the sentiments here current, which would cause it to be viewed with regret rather than pleasure," and the Queen of England would immediately come to know of the design.

Four days later, on the 22nd May, the nuncio wrote again to the Cardinal of Como, sending a copy of a memorandum

which Father Persons, who appeared to him a very prudent man, had given him. The demands seem so moderate to the nuncio—the number of troops for Scotland had been reduced to 6,000 foot, and the money to 10,000 crowns, which seemed so small a sum for two such great princes as the Pope and the King of Spain, that Castelli hopes their wishes may be granted, and that the Catholics of both realms may not be driven to despair.

• By the 28th May, the Duke of Guise's project had been laid before the Pope who, as the Cardinal of Como wrote to nuncio Castelli, was as pleased with it, as if it were a crusade to the Holy Land. He congratulates the Duke, and has already written to the King of Spain on the subject. Philip II's answer was not enthusiastic; he wrote to Gregory XIII from Lisbon on the 4th September, acknowledging the Pope's two letters of May and the 25th June exhorting him to the enterprise of England at his own charges, and without offering him any help. His Holiness would have to give him much money: correspondence would have to be kept up, and Dr. Allen should be created a Cardinal. The King adds that he only wishes he had the funds, and were sufficiently free from other occupations.¹

The last words probably referred to the affairs of Portugal. On the death of the old and almost insane King Henry in 1580, Philip had claimed the throne by right of his mother, the eldest daughter of Emanuel I, but he had been forestalled by Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, a natural son of Louis, second son of Emanuel, who seized Lisbon and proclaimed himself king. In 1581, the Duke of Alva easily defeated him, and Philip took possession of the country. Needless to say, Don Antonio soon became a *persona gratissima* to Queen Elizabeth, who furnished him with money and arms, using him as another thorn in the side of the King of Spain. He was at this moment making an unsuccessful attempt upon the Azores, and Philip had sent an expedition to Terciera to dislodge him. In writing to urge the Duke of Lennox's scheme upon the King of Spain, the Pope had not failed to remind him that he would do himself good by

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Roman
Transcripts,
25th June

¹ Simancas: *Est.*, 353 = 943, f. 27.

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Roman
Transcripts,
11th July

it both in Flanders and in Portugal, for without the help of England, affairs in both places would easily be settled. Meanwhile the Queen of Scots had sent word to the Archbishop of Glasgow that she had received the assurances of the Earl of Arundel, son of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Earl of Northumberland, that they and the whole house of Howard were favourable to the Duke of Guise.

Ibid.,
28th Aug.

These negotiations, which, as Father Creighton afterwards complained, might have been carried out in two months, and were protracted for nearly two years, had come to the knowledge of the English Government. In August, the Duke of Lennox sent word that things were going badly, that another insurrection was threatening in Scotland, and that the Queen of England had sent Morton's son to the borders. Then came the news of the "raid of Ruthven," on the 23rd August: the Earl of Gowrie's invitation to James to his Castle of Ruthven, where he and his party secured the person of the unsuspecting prince, and assumed the exercise of the royal authority. The nuncio in France sent the news to Rome on the 11th September, and a fortnight later wrote that the rebel lords had made the young king, who was in Stirling Castle, sign a declaration that he was free. "The Queen of England has helped, and is still helping them."

Ibid.,
26th Sept.

The Duke of Lennox sought an asylum in France, where he died, some said of poison, some of a broken heart, on the 26th May, 1583.

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In the meantime a crucial question had been submitted to Rome. On the 17th July, Monsignor Castelli, nuncio in France, informed the Cardinal of Como that Dr. Allen had written [from Rheims] to ask him, on the part of many Catholics in England, to get the Pope's decision on two points: Whether it was his will that they should defend the excommunication and deprivation of the Queen of England by Pope Pius V of happy memory, and suffer death; or how they are to answer when interrogated by the judges, when they are taken before them?

Also, if it is his Holiness's will that they should suffer death for defending—when they are prisoners—the proposition

that the Pope has the right to depose a prince, and to tell his subjects to take up arms against him? ¹⁵⁸²

"The Queen insists upon this above all things, and even if the priests in England have never uttered a word about the bull, she will have them all interrogated on the point, as you will see by the enclosed articles, which have been sent to Allen from England.

"He also tells me that he has in prison at Rheims, one who had been his, and had come to kill him and destroy that College at Rheims, of which the Queen shows more fear than of France and Spain."¹

Whatever answer was sent from Rome has not come down to us; but from the tenor of the nuncio's next letter to the Cardinal of Como, under date of the 25th August, it appears to have been of a reassuring nature. Castelli writes that he has signified to Dr. Allen the Pope's answer to those poor tormented Catholics, which ought to be of some help to them. The answer most probably repeated the decisions of the Court of Rome to the somewhat similar questions submitted to Gregory XIII in 1573, and to the rescript furnished to Campion and Persons at their request, before they went to England in 1580. ¹⁵⁸²⁻³

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As soon as the King of Scots was in the hands of the English faction, Henry III of France, who had appeared indifferent to the cause of James so long as he was under the care of Lennox, despatched La Motte Fenelon and Maigneville as ambassadors to Edinburgh, to aid the young King to regain his liberty, and to advise him to call around him the faithful nobles and the deputies of the burghs. James acted with a dissimulation and vigour rare for his years. He summoned a convention of noblemen at St. Andrews, and took possession of the castle: the number of his adherents intimidated the opposite faction; an offer of pardon to those concerned in the "raid of Ruthven" allayed their fears, and the young king recovered the exercise of his authority in the following June.

¹ This was Richard Baynes, who, as a student of the college, had intended to poison Dr. Allen and the other members of the college. Allen gave an account of his imprisonment in a letter to Father Agazzari on the 28th May, 1582, and how he had lived four years at Rheims as a spy, and saying Mass daily. A summary of his confession made in prison to Dr. Allen, Mr. Thomas Bailey, and Dr. Lawrence Webb, may be found in *Knox*, II, pp. 139-41.

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The Pope and the King of Spain had both promised to send money to the Duke of Guise for his enterprise, who, on his part, had awaited the arrival of Lennox in Paris, in order to consult with him about the state of Scotland. Lennox arrived but to die, and de Tassis had already written to Philip II on the 14th February—

“ In my poor judgment the affair is at an end for the present ; for to all appearances this boyish prince will conform, and adapt himself to necessity, and even, through his absence, will forget Lennox.” ¹

Knox,
II, p. 191

While the English faction was in power, Father William Holt was captured at Leith with letters from Lord Seton, and at Elizabeth's request was “ put to the booties ” to extort from him his correspondence and the plans of the Catholics ; but as Allen wrote to Agazzari on the 20th June, 1583, “ he admirably preserved his faith, courage and taciturnity.” James refused to give him up to the Queen of England, but kept him a prisoner until August, 1584, when he was liberated and sent out of the country.

1583

Roman
Transcripts,
30th May

Staggered for a moment by the ill news from Scotland and by the Duke of Lennox's return to France, the Duke of Guise nevertheless “ urged by the Queen of Scots and Lord Seton,” as the nuncio wrote to the Cardinal Secretary, determined to go to Scotland with 4,000 troops. Father Persons arrived in Paris from Madrid at the end of May, bringing promises of help from Philip II—60,000 crowns if the Pope would furnish 20,000, which Gregory XIII agreed to do. Allen hurried to Paris to see Persons, between the 10th and 26th June, returning to the College before the latter date. He went to see the Spanish ambassador, who wrote to Philip on the 24th June that Dr. Allen had so forcibly impressed upon him the easiness of the expedition “ that although,” he continues—

“ I know that exiles are apt to be sanguine, I cannot help believing what he says, and I trust God will reward their zeal by delivering them from their bondage.” ²

¹ Teulet, V, 273. Knox, II, p. xlvii.

² “ Juan Batista de Tassis to Philip II ” : *Spanish Cal.*, Vol. III, No. 345.

At a conference held at the nuncio's house early in June, by ¹⁵⁸³ the Duke of Guise, at which the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Spanish ambassador, Father Claude Matthieu and Father Persons were present, the Duke read a memorandum, of which he gave an Italian translation to the nuncio and a copy in French to de Tassis. In reporting the matter to Rome, the nuncio concludes—

"All I can say for the moment is that Lennox's death has damaged us greatly, that the difficulties have increased, and much more money will be required. The Queen of Scots begs that nothing may be attempted before her son is at liberty, and her party confirmed in Scotland." Roman
Transcripts,
11th June

Meanwhile, a simpler solution of the question had been proposed to the Duke of Guise, who appears to have lost no time in communicating it to the papal nuncio. Castelli wrote to the Cardinal of Como, on the 2nd May, 1583—

"The Duke of Guise and the Duke of Mayenne have told me that they have a plan for killing the Queen of England by the hand of a Catholic, though not one outwardly, who is near her person and is ill-affected towards her for having put to death some of his Catholic relations.* This man, it seems, sent word of this to the Queen of Scotland, but she would not hear of it." ibid.

Knox,
I, p. xlv

Then the man, whose name does not transpire, but who is supposed to have been George Gifford, appears to have come to Paris and made his offer to the two Dukes, who agreed to his terms—100,000 francs if he escapes, or, in case of his death, to be given to his sons. He will accept the security of the Duke of Guise for 50,000 francs, and that the rest should be deposited with the Archbishop of Glasgow in a box of which the would-be assassin is to have a key, so that he or his sons may receive the money, should his plan succeed, "and the Duke thinks it may," remarks the nuncio, who continues—

"The Duke asks for no assistance from our lord the Pope in this

¹ Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Mayenne [1554-1611], younger brother of the Duke of Guise, and his faithful companion in all his adventures and intrigues. After his brother's death, he was the chief of the Catholic League against Henry of Navarre. After the siege of Paris in 1594 and the defeat of the League and their Spanish allies, the Duke of Mayenne decided to make his submission to Henry IV, and became his loyal subject.

affair ; when the time comes, he will go to a place of his near the sea to await the event, and then cross over on a sudden into England. As to putting to death that wicked woman, I told him I would not write about it to his Holiness (nor do I), nor would I ask your most illustrious lordship to inform him of it ; because, though I believe our lord the Pope would be glad that God should punish, in any way whatever that enemy of His, still it would be unfitting that His vicar should procure it by these means.

"The Duke was satisfied ; but later on he added that for the enterprise of England—which in this case would be much easier—it will be necessary to have the money in readiness here, to enlist some troops to follow him, as he intends to enter England immediately, in order that the Catholics may have a head."

The nuncio states that the Duke of Guise asks for no assistance for his own passage across, but as the Duke of Mayenne will remain behind to collect the troops, 100,000 crowns, or at least 80,000 will be necessary. In reply Castelli informed the Duke of the Pope's intention to give him all the help he could, if the Catholic King would do his part ; the Spanish ambassador believes the King will willingly give his aid—[Father Persons arrived a few weeks later with Philip's promises]—"So it will be well," adds Castelli—

"In conformity with the promises so often made, to consider how to provide this sum, which will amount to 20,000 crowns from our lord the Pope, if the Catholic king gives 60,000. God grant that with this small sum that great kingdom may be gained.

"The Queen of Scotland wrote the other day that she had won over the Earl [of Shrewsbury] her keeper, and that she is sure of being able to free herself when she pleases ; but that she wishes to wait for a good opportunity."

It does not appear certain that the Archbishop of Glasgow approved of this startling scheme, which the sovereign he represented had condemned, or that he knew he was proposed as holder of the stakes ; Father Persons was only starting from Madrid for Paris at the time, and Allen was at Rheims until after the 6th June ; nor was the design ever mentioned to the Pope, as Knox presumes in his Introduction to *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*. The Cardinal of Como's answer to Castelli's letter is dated Rome, 23rd May, and refers exclusively to the 20,000 ducats the Pope had promised to contribute

towards the Duke of Guise's expedition, conditionally upon ¹⁵⁸³ Philip II providing the other 60,000; the question of how to forward the sum to Paris is considered, and the hope is expressed that the Duke will make a good and firm agreement with the Spanish agent, "that this may not prove like so many other promises which never had any results."

As was pointed out by Monsignor Pietro Balan, sub-archivist of the Vatican, after the publication of Knox's work, the nuncio had shown his disapproval of the plot to the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne by refusing to submit it to the Pope; and the words in Como's letter that his Holiness would be pleased that that country should in any way be freed from oppression, and would gladly contribute the 20,000 crowns, refer to Guise's expedition, and not to the assassination scheme, of which he knew nothing. The writer further points out that in the *Design for the English enterprise* sent to Rome on the 20th June, there is no allusion whatever to any private attack upon Elizabeth's life.¹

Happily for all concerned, the scheme ended as it had begun, in words only. The Spanish agent had been informed of it at once, for he wrote to Philip II on the 4th May that the Duke of Guise was actively preparing for the English expedition, his plans including "especially one, which I do not dare to set down here because of the danger. It will be well enough known if it succeeds, and if not, the news may be sent later and the delay will not matter." Knox,
II, p. xlviii

The delay was not a long one, for de Tassis wrote on the 24th of the following month that the project he had alluded to "*was a violent attempt* against that lady. . . I see that at ^{ibid.} present it has been entirely lost sight of." The words italicised above were underlined by Philip himself, who wrote in the margin: "So, I think, we understood it here. If they had done so, it would not have been wrong, but they should have provided certain things beforehand."

Monsignor Castelli had written several weeks earlier on the

¹ Pietro Balan, sotto archivista dell Archivio Vaticano: *Scienze e Lettere*, Vol. I, fasc. 3, March, 1883: Florence.

1583

30th May : "The design against the person of the Queen of England will, I believe, come to nothing."

The King of Spain's uncompromising opinion was doubtless shared by many perplexed politicians in those sorely-troubled days—that such an act was not a crime but an act of war, part and parcel of the general attack upon an enemy against whom hostilities were opening ; although it is necessary for us to try and place ourselves in the actual circumstances of the time, before we can realise that such was the case. There is in fact nothing more needful, and few things more difficult for the student of the past, than to keep himself constantly in the atmosphere of the period he is considering ; and to abstain from judging its men and its measures by the standards of to-day. The stamp of medievalism was still strongly impressed upon the sixteenth century—when outlawry on the one hand and the right of sanctuary on the other, still had the sanction of custom and the legislature : and there can be no doubt that according to the degree of civilisation of any given period, according to circumstances and the accidents of time and place, the point varies at which the line must in justice be drawn between justifiable homicide and assassination.

There is evidence to show that in 1583 certain persons—and not only among the ignorant and the fanatical—were inclined to hold, that the bull of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth had carried with it, not only the permission to deprive her of her crown and states, but of her life as well—a proposition condemned by the Church, as we have seen,¹ but which chimed too well with the aspirations of desperate men, worn out with oppression at home, or with the pains of exile, not to approve itself to them ;—the rightful queen a captive in the hands of an excommunicated tyrant, their priests slaughtered with every circumstance of cruel torture, and their own religious convictions—and what to many was more tormenting still—the religion of their hapless children oppressed and ground down to the point of annihilation, if the purpose of their oppressors could be compassed.

¹ See p. 121.

They could quote the warrant of Scripture : they could show ¹⁵⁸⁵ how Judith, returning with the head of Holofernes, was hailed by the ancients and the people, as they came in solemn procession to meet her, as "Glory of Israel, delight of Jerusalem and honour of her people" ; they could point to Jael, saluted as "blessed among women," when she had rid her country of the cruel tyrant Sisera. They could refer their Protestant countrymen to John Knox who, as all the world knew, had justified the murder of Rizzio, on the plea that it is lawful for private persons to put to death the oppressors of God's people, when all redress in the ordinary course of justice is impossible.¹ Moreover, there was little reason to doubt that the great Scotch reformer, together with a brother minister, Craig, had been of counsel in the perpetration of that murder,² or that his *Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, dubbed an "infamous libel," by many of his brother reformers, was a direct incentive to the killing of Mary Tudor.³

During the long struggle for Catholic Emancipation in the ¹⁵⁸¹ eighteenth century, no accusation was more constantly urged against the English Catholics, or more vehemently denied by them, than that they held the belief that an excommunicated

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Vol. III, pp. 405, 406.

² Lingard : Vol. VI, p. 62.

³ Dr. Owen Lewis, as he afterwards wrote to the Cardinal of Como, had been written to in 1580 by an English gentleman living in Belgium, offering to kill the Queen for 10,000 crowns. "But these sort of enterprises do not please me," wrote Dr. Lewis. "He indeed said that it made little difference whether the slaughter was done by sending an army, or in secret by a clever ruse. But it did not become me, a priest, to discuss deeds of blood, so I said nothing about it."

The same year, 1580, Humphrey Ely, a distinguished Oxford scholar, but not yet a priest, made a like inquiry of Bishop Sega, nuncio at Madrid, "in the name of certain English gentlemen and some Jesuits." Sega forwarded the inquiry to Rome, and unfortunately there is evidence to show that the Cardinal of Como had so far yielded to the spirit of the age, as to countenance a direct attack upon the person of the Queen, and even to convey the impression that the proposal had the approval of the Pope himself. His affirmative answer may be found in Meyer's recent *England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elizabeth*, p. 231, and appendix p. 428. See also J. H. Pollen, S.J. *The Month*, June and July, 1902; "Politics of the English Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth," and Bellesheim's *Cardinal Allen*, p. 277.

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prince might be lawfully deposed or murdered. In 1783 the *Catholic Committee* sent formal questions to the Universities of the Sorbonne, Louvain, Douay, Alcala, Valladolid and Salamanca, as six typical faculties, who unanimously answered that the tenets attributed by English Protestants to their Catholic fellow-countrymen, formed no part of Catholic doctrine.¹

Roman
Transcripts,
24th Nov.

1583-4

While the exiles, through Father Persons and the Court of Rome, were urging Philip II to speed, and expatiating upon the facility of the enterprise—especially in a long memoir prepared by Dr. Allen and Persons, and sent to Spain in January, 1584, to show the opportuneness of the *sacred expedition*—the Spanish Court was not re-assured by the news it received from other quarters. They had grave doubts of the Duke of Guise, and Cardinal Granvela told the nuncio at Madrid, the Bishop of Lodi, they had heard from him that in England no preparations at all had been made for the enterprise, which caused the nuncio to believe that Guise “had sent over to inquire.” That Father Persons’ glowing declarations, as to the preparedness and eagerness of the majority of the people of England to rise against Elizabeth on the appearance of French or Spanish troops, were drawn chiefly from his own imagination there can be no possible doubt: his influence on Dr. Allen on this subject was supreme, and the latter’s long absence from his native land had caused him to get out of touch with the deepest instincts of the nation, despite the constant intercourse that went on between Rheims and England. It is unfortunate that we have no corroborative authority that the English nobles and gentlemen, whose names appear on Persons’ lists and memoirs, had really yearned to leave their estates and families to the mercy of Elizabeth, and cross the borders to place themselves under the command of the Duke of Lennox; or were now waiting for the appearance of the French standards, to range themselves by the side of the Duke of Guise.

¹ Theologians who supported the “Deposing Doctrine” admitted that it could only be used where the nation was Catholic—which it had long ceased to be in England in the eighteenth century—and that the time for its use had passed away.

Meanwhile, Allen's letters bear witness that he was as well-informed on purely religious matters in England as ever, and we find an interesting description, sent to Father Agazzari on the 14th March, 1583, of how his younger brother, Gabriel Allen, had arrived at Rheims after a perilous journey from England, bringing news of the straits, the hiding places, the despoiling of the Catholics, and of their consolation, deliverances and devotion—

“Certainly it was a pleasure to hear him say that, during the three years he has been away from me, never a day passed but he had the opportunity of hearing mass; that three or four masses were often said on the same day at our sister's house;¹ and that every year on the anniversary of her husband's death twelve masses were said there. . . . All that part of the country where we were born is Catholic, though the common people sometimes go to the churches of the heretics, through fear of the iniquitous laws. . . .

Knox,
II, pp. 181,
182

“My brother was obliged to spend a month in London, waiting for an opportunity to cross the seas. While there, he visited the prisons and nearly all the confessors, except those in the Tower, whom he did not venture to go near. In one of the prisons called the Marshalsea there are, besides the other Catholics, twenty-four priests who live there together most sweetly in the Lord. Both in this and the other prisons many masses are said every day, with the leave or connivance of the jailers . . . people from without are admitted from time to time for conference, confession or communion; and more than this, the priests are allowed to go out every day to different parts of the city, and attend to the spiritual needs of the Catholics, on condition that they return to the prison at night. . . . Thus . . . experience itself refutes the human judgments of the many who cry aloud or whisper that we ought to reserve our priests for more seasonable times, give way to persecution and cease from work. . . . We have not to wait till things are better, but to make them better, and we must buy back happier times from the Almighty . . . by zeal, labour and blood, especially that of priests.”

Two days later, Allen wrote to the same correspondent of the passing through England of Dr. Strong, Bishop of Ossory, who had been consecrated in Rome. Gabriel Allen had met him, and related how he had been received by the Catholics

¹ Elizabeth, widow of George Allen, of Rossall.

1583-4

in London and elsewhere—though secretly—with respect and delight, many bringing their little ones for Confirmation—a sacrament which has always been held in greater veneration in England than in any other part of the world—

Knox,
II, p. 183

“My brother saw him confirming many persons . . . Great complaints are made to the Queen’s Council about the university of Oxford, because of the numbers who from time to time leave their colleges, and are supposed to pass over to us. This torments them exceedingly. They are also quite mad with rage against the New Testaments which were not long since translated and published here; and they cast into prison all those in whose possession the books are found, not only Catholics but heretics also, or at least schismatics; and yet in the beginning they tolerated the books.”

ibid.,
p. 213

In September of the same year Allen wrote to Cardinal San Sisto, Protector of the English, how three of his priests had reconciled 400 persons to the Church since Easter, in one of the smallest shires in the realm. Another sent word that he had had thirty chalices made that year—

“Moreover there is such a want of portable altars, which are the only kind used in the kingdom, and such difficulty in getting them blessed (for there are only two persons who have faculties for this from the sovereign Pontiff) that everybody is complaining of it.”¹

At the same time Allen never ceased trying to dispose the Pope and the Cardinal of Como to think favourably of the military enterprise, and he wrote to the Cardinal on the 9th August, 1583, to admonish the Holy Father that now was the time for acting, “that there had never been the like opportunity, nor would such a chance ever recur.” And when it was decided to send Father Persons, under the name of Molino, to Rome with written instructions from the Duke of Guise, Allen wrote to Gregory XIII earnestly recommending the matters of which he was to treat.

On the other hand, de Tassis, in his letter to Philip II was far less confident. When M. de Maigneville returned from his embassy to Scotland in June, 1583, and presented his

¹ Gregory XIII, in May, 1578, had empowered Rev. Vivian Haydock, George Blackwall, and Robert Gwin to bless sacred vestments, and consecrate portable altars in England.

report, " which he gilded over by expressing great hopes that ¹⁵⁸³⁻⁴ the young king may be won, as well as many of his vassals " ; and when the Duke of Guise had asserted that he expected help from the King of France, which de Tassis doubts, " as it depends on the mere will of the King, and the Guises are not in favour at present," the ambassador thought it his duty, in conversation with the Duke, to criticise several points of the latter's plans for a descent into Sussex. At the same time de Tassis concludes with a warm commendation of the Catholics in England to the King.¹

Persons' instructions show not only the number of men and the money required, the ports in Scotland and England, where it is presumed the French and Spanish forces " can land in perfect safety," with several other details ; but give a list of the nobles and gentlemen in England and Scotland who may be expected to rise, including the Earl of Westmoreland and Edward Lord Dacre, two of the exiles who had written from ^{Knox,} Tournay to Dr. Allen in March, offering their services " in the ^{II, p. 178} most precious quarrel in the world " ; and declaring that next unto God, they reposed " a most special trust and affiance " in him, and promised themselves " to his virtuous direction."

The Spanish ambassador in England, Don Bernardino di Mendoza, should remain there until all things are ready, and then should retire to Dunkirk to join the Duke of Guise and accompany him to England. His Holiness is entreated to expedite a bull declaring that the enterprise is undertaken by himself, and that he has charged the King of Spain and the Duke of Guise with its execution ; at the same time renewing the bull of Pius V against Elizabeth, and granting an indulgence to all who take part in this holy war.²

¹ Teulet : V, 281 ; Knox, II, p. lv.

² How sincerely Gregory XIII regarded the expedition to England as a holy war is shown by a letter in 1583 to the nuncio in France. The Duke of Anjou, smarting under his rejection by Elizabeth, had proposed to undertake the enterprise himself. The Pope approves Castelli, who answered the duke very well, " and certainly it is not an enterprise to be executed in anger, nor with so little of the grace of God, as it would be by *Monsieur* and his adherents " [*Roman Transcripts*, 28th March, 1583].

1583-4

"His Holiness will be pleased to create Mr. Allen Bishop of Durham; and to make him, or someone else his nuncio in the expedition from Spain to represent his Holiness and publish the said bulls." ¹

Knox,
II, p. 217

The Pope was willing to grant the briefs and to make Allen Bishop of Durham; but he consistently refused to furnish troops—though the promised money was ready to be sent the moment the Duke of Guise and Philip II began to act. Father Persons probably brought the briefs with him from Rome, and they were deposited with Tassis to be used at the proper time. There is a letter from Allen to the Cardinal of Como, dated 20th November, 1583, saying that "though infirm in body and weak in mind," nothing shall be wanting on his part to fulfil the higher functions which in due time are to be entrusted to him. On the same day he wrote to thank the Pope, again alluding to his weakness and unworthiness, which made him tremble at undertaking those great functions laid upon him by his Holiness. Allen was fifty-one years old, and Tassis says of him, in his despatch to Philip II of the 24th June, that he is "older and more infirm [than the other members of the expedition] and will have to make the journey [to England] with more comforts than they." ²

It was now the month of November, and it was clear that nothing could be attempted before the spring, even if events in England had not taken a disastrous turn. Charles Paget, an English exile and secretary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, who had been sent to England in August by the Duke of Guise, to inquire into the preparedness of the malcontents for his enterprise, was already, according to Father Persons, in the secret service of the English Government; though it is not easy to reconcile the statement with the continued confidence with which he was treated by Dr. Allen. ³ He had certainly

¹ Teulet: V, 308; Knox, II, p. lvii.

² Teulet, V, 292 Knox, II, p. lx.

³ Charles Paget, fourth son of William, Lord Paget, was a member successively of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1559. In 1572, becoming discontented with the state of religion, he retired to France, and became secretary to Archbishop Beaton. He was attainted of treason, by Act of Parliament, in 1587.

corresponded with Walsingham in 1581-2 proffering allegiance to Elizabeth, on the sole condition of liberty of conscience. With Thomas Morgan, who had been sent to Paris by Mary Queen of Scots, he corresponded with Nau and Curle, Mary's secretaries in England, and Persons says "they four governed henceforth all the Queen's affairs at their pleasure."¹

Francis Throckmorton, a son of Sir John Throckmorton, had left England on account of religion in 1580, and had visited the leading Catholic exiles to discuss various plans for restoring the faith in England. At Madrid he had discussed with Sir Francis Englefield details of an invasion with Spanish troops, and had then met Charles Paget and Morgan in Paris, with whom he had debated the feasibility of the Guisan expedition. He returned to London in 1583 and was arrested together with his brother George in the month of October, and sent to the Tower. He was racked three times, and at last confessed that two catalogues found in his trunk, had been written by him: the one contained a list of the chief ports in England, and the other the names of the principal Catholics. He admitted that they were intended for the use of the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, to further the enterprise of the Duke of Guise.² He was executed at Tyburn in July, 1584.

Mendoza had asked to be recalled, but Philip II, at the entreaty of the English exiles had maintained him at his post. His efforts to help the Catholics had long given umbrage to the Government; and now Burghley, armed with Throckmorton's confession, accused him of having violated his duty and practised against the State. In the heated discussion that

¹ Thomas Morgan [1543-1606], secretary to Thomas Young, Archbishop of York, till the latter's death in 1568. Morgan then determined to devote himself to the service of Mary Queen of Scots, and became secretary to Lord Shrewsbury, in whose house at Tutbury Mary was imprisoned. He was arrested and sent to the Tower for conveying letters to the Queen from the Bishop of Ross. He was released by Burghley, but denied that he got his freedom by treachery. The Queen of Scots sent him to Paris, and Elizabeth clamoured for his arrest and extradition. This Henry III refused, but sent him to the Bastille. Morgan and Paget were both strongly opposed to the Spanish interests and the influence of the Jesuits.

² *Somers' Tracts*, I, p. 214.

1583-4 followed, each accused the other of insidious and traitorous policy, and Mendoza did not forget to recall Egremont Ratcliffe's mission to murder Don John of Austria.

The ambassador was ordered to leave England within twenty-four hours, and he retired to Paris, where he succeeded de Tassis as Spanish agent, and gratified his resentment, by lending the aid of his influence and abilities to those who sought the ruin of Elizabeth. Then came the news of the arrest of several of the leading Catholic gentlemen of England, including the Earl of Northumberland, news which Allen, in the intensity of his desire, brought himself to believe was not of great moment. Castelli, Bishop of Rimini, had lately died, and was succeeded as nuncio in Paris by Monsignor Ragazzoni, Bishop of Bergamo, who wrote to the Cardinal of Como on the 9th January, 1584, that Allen had been with him that day to say that the arrest of Northumberland, the chief hope of the Catholics in England, was of no great importance.¹

Roman
Transcripts

1584 At this moment, the Catholic cause was once more in the ascendant in Scotland. On the 4th May, 1584, Lord Gowrie expiated his treasons on the scaffold, and the King of Scots had already written to the Duke of Guise, placing himself entirely under his direction, promising to do everything in his power to facilitate the enterprise and accrediting Patrick, Master of Gray, his new envoy to France—who, on his return, betrayed to Elizabeth the secrets with which he had been entrusted in Paris. Gray at the same time wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, asking for money to pay the King's guards, and giving messages of adherence from the Earls of Huntley and Crawford. These despatches were sent to the nuncio by

ibid.,
22nd Jan.

ibid.,
27th Jan.

¹ Henry Percy, eighth earl of Northumberland, M.P. for Morpeth in 1554, distinguished himself before Leith, against the Scots, in 1560. Dodd says that, in religion, he was an occasionalist: during his brother's lifetime he declared for the new religion and supported the Government during the rising of 1569. Nevertheless, he soon afterwards offered his service to Mary Queen of Scots, and was imprisoned for eighteen months in 1571. Arrested on a charge of complicity in Throckmorton's plot, he was sent to the Tower in 1584. Six months later he was found shot through the heart, 21st June, 1585. There can be little doubt that he was murdered.

the Duke of Guise with a brisk and business-like letter, asking him to forward them to the Pope. Guise is determined to go to the aid of his young kinsman as quickly as possible, relying on the promises of the Pope and the King of Spain; and from Scotland he will pass into England with a good force of French, English, Scotch and Irish troops. If the King of Spain means to send help, all the better, if not they will do without him. James VI wrote also to the Pope in very humble and affectionate terms, accrediting his cousin, James Stuart; and in a letter of the same date to the Duke of Guise, thanking him for all the Duke had done in defence of James's "dearest and most honoured mother," he promises to follow the Duke's advice in all things concerning religion and the State. Further letters to the Duke and to Gregory XIII return thanks for subsidies received; and in July he wrote again to Guise, announcing the execution of Lord Gowrie, and that were it not for his neighbour, the Queen of England, his States would be at peace.

1584

Roman
Transcripts*ibid.*,
19th Feb.*ibid.*,
17th July

Meanwhile an event had happened which put an end at once and for always to the Duke of Guise's expedition. The nuncio in Spain, writing to the Cardinal of Como, and giving various reasons why the Duke was not likely to go to England, stated that the Duke of Alençon's [Anjou's] illness was mortal, and that Henry III was not likely to live long; so Guise would not absent himself at such a time, as there would certainly be tumults. "Moreover," adds the nuncio, "the authority France would acquire in England would be highly displeasing here."

ibid.,
30th May

The Duke of Anjou died on the 10th June, and the heretic Henry of Navarre became next heir to the throne of France. The Bishop of Bergamo, nuncio in Paris, writing to the Cardinal of Como, states that if Guise would not leave the country before the death of Anjou, he would be still less likely to do so now.

ibid.,
25th June

In 1583 Lord Burghley had thought it advisable to write an anonymous book, entitled *The Execution of Justice in England Not for Religion but for Treason*. It was chiefly intended for the instruction of foreign nations, and translations

1584

in French and Italian were scattered broadcast. Allen answered it in 1584 in *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics that suffer for their Faith both at home and abroad: against a false, seditious and slanderous Libel intituled the Execution of Justice in England*. In this battle of words all that could possibly be said on either side is set forth with the utmost ability by their foremost champions, in two of the most interesting works of the period. Charge after charge is met by Allen, and refuted as calmly as triumphantly, while he hints in the preface, that although the libel is anonymous, it seems to proceed (though in close sort) from authority. After stating that he means his writing to be most unlike "the immodest railing" of his adversaries, and that he is "not much terrified by the vain and vulgar exordium of the author of this invective," who begins with telling us that it is the common usage of rebels and traitors to make defence by covering their deeds with pretence of other causes, Allen explains that this is exactly "what princes and communities in disorder do—

"When Richard III, intending to usurp the crown of England, slew divers of the nobilitie, and afterwards murthered unnaturally his owne innocent nephews: what solemn libels, proclamations, orations were put forth to justifie his abominable iniquitie! When the last Duke of Northumberland, for the like ambitious purpose, would have disabled and defeated traitorously both the noble daughters of his own sovereign, and by the title of his daughter-in-law, possessed himself of the crowne: what a number of pamphlets and edicts were published on the sudden, for colouring of that foul treacherie and abominable treason? . . . The same in Holland, and in Scotland."

Burghley's statement that no Catholics were executed or punished for religion, Allen bluntly dismisses as "a very notorious untruth"; and he appeals to the conscience and knowledge of all Catholics and Protestants alike, "who of their equity will never deny that most prisons in England be full at this day, and have been for years, of honourable and honest persons not to be touched with any treason, or other offence in the world" other than their faith—

"A number also have been tormented, arraigned, condemned

and executed, for mere matter of religion, and upon transgression 1584
of the new statutes only, without any relation to the old treasons
. . . by which they untrulie avouch, all our brethren were
convicted."

He cites the case of Cuthbert Mayne, condemned to death
for possessing an *Agnus Dei* and a jubilee bull, of Mr. Tregian
" at this day in perpetual prison for receiving the said priest
in his house," and so on through the long list of lay and priestly
victims, recording their arraignments and condemnations,
concluding, " These be the treasons and none other, for which
the blood of God's priests is so abundantly shed in our poor
country."

To the statement that *none have been tormented for other
matters than treason*, Allen replies by giving the interrogatories
for which Briant was tortured with needles thrust under his
nails and " racked also in cruel sorte," *i.e.*, where he said mass,
how many he had reconciled to the Church, etc., and so on
with many others. The second chapter deals with the trials
of Campion and the rest, exposing all the perjuries and false
witness by which it had been attempted to convict them of
treason. Burghley had referred to Felton's publication of
the bull of excommunication, to the Northern rising, and to the
Irish expedition of Gregory XIII as giving the Queen great
reason to search out all seditious persons " as Priests and
Jesuits be " ; which reasons, Allen points out—

" Have no further sequel in the sight of anie reasonable and
indifferent man, than to punish them that are by careful trial
proved to be partakers in these actions: which was impossible
to do in anie of the Priests arraigned. . . .

" All is full of wild and waste words artificially couched to abuse
the ignorant . . . all running to the odd issue, that her Majesty
hath reason to punish traitors; but no word to convince them
of these or any other old treasons . . . nor to reprove us that
boldlie upon evident demonstration . . . do testify before God
and man, that they were not guiltie of those offences of which they
were indicted."

As an invincible proof of their innocence, Allen recalls the fact
that any one of them could have saved his life by confessing
the Queen to be spiritual head of the Church, " yea, for once

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going to their heretical services, any of those whom they pretend to be such deepe traitours, might have been quit with favour as also with great thankes and goodlie preferments."

Burghley had justified Elizabeth's persecution by Mary's rigours against the Protestants. In the third chapter Allen deals with the thorny point, and claims that Mary acted according to the ancient laws of the country and of all Christian nations; whereas in Elizabeth's first parliament those laws had been repealed, so that to put Catholics to death for religion is against justice, law and the government's own profession and doctrine. Moreover, it had been provided that nothing should be deemed or adjudged heresy but by Parliament and convocation—therefore, adds Allen, "you can neither adjudge of our doctrines as of heresy, nor any of us as heretics; nor have you any law left whereby to execute us."

Allen expresses his surprise that the libeller had ventured to state that the martyrs of Queen Mary's reign "*denied not their lawful Queen nor maintained her enemies, as ours doe.*" "A strange boldness," he calls it, "to avouch a lie without necessity, which all the world can disprove at the first sight."

In Chapter IV Allen maintains that the answers made by the priests and other Catholics to the six questions, always put to them regarding the bull of Pius V, had been discreet. Having committed nothing by word or deed against the prince or laws, Allen deems it a hard thing that men should suffer for "their onlie cogitations and inward opinions," while they did all acts of honour and homage unto the Sovereign.

The jealous enemy has "found knots in those rushes that of themselves are smooth" when he pretends that the priests had commission from the Pope, or anyone else, to absolve men from their allegiance in confession. As for the English colleges at Rheims and at Rome, the governors of the students had always of purpose prohibited controversies concerning the Pope's pre-eminence: no matter of depriving or excommunicating princes being disputed—

"No, not so much as in generalities, and much lesse the particularising of anie point in our Queen's case . . . which moderation was kept in all places and persons of our nation; two onlie

learned men of great zeal and excellence indeed (Dr. Sanders and Dr. Bristow) excepted, who had their special reasons to do as they did, which we will neither defend nor reprove."¹

Allen quotes Champion's expressions of regret concerning the bull, and his and Father Persons' efforts to get a mitigation of the censure—

"That it might not bind, or make culpable anie her Majesty's Catholic subjects in conscience . . . however it stood against the Protestants, who neither looked nor cared to be discharged of it."

In the fifth chapter, the abstract question is historically considered of the deposition of rulers, with examples from the Old Testament and throughout the ages—Ambrose and Theodosius, and many others in foreign countries as well as in England. Allen sums up his arguments as to the just and necessary supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal ruler thus—

"Therefore let no man marvel that in case of heresie the Sovereign loseth his superioritie and right over his people and Kingdome : which cannot be a lawful Christian state or commonwealth without due obedience to Christ's and the Church's lawes."

The proposition is set forth in the next chapter that it were much to the benefit and stability of commonwealths, that differences between rulers and their people were decided by the supreme pastor of the Church "rather than by popular meeting and phantasy of private men, as heretics desire and practise." The libeller, as Allen calls him throughout, had, in his book, warned the monarchs of the world of "the doubtful and servile state they be in whilst the Popes may be suffered to make and unmake kings at their pleasure." Allen calls this "a bugge fit onlie to fright babes" : he points to all the

¹ Bristow's *Motives and Demands*, and Sanders' *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiastica*, are the books alluded to. Not only were the students kept in ignorance of Allen's political work, but the most trusted of his professors also ; thus Dr. Barret, writing to Agazzari from Rheims on the 14th April, 1583, states that : "No one here knows anything about Father Robert [Persons] except Dr. Allen, who is so secret that he will not communicate it to anyone." Knox, II, p. 326.

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monarchs whose crowns are worn, and swords are borne for Christ and his spouse, and who happily stand and flourish in good intelligence with the Holy See. The example of some of their Protestant neighbours will not induce them to break with God's Church; notably the extinction of the race of Henry VIII (who was *radix peccati*), will not encourage monarchs to follow in his footsteps. It is not the Popes, but their own rebellious subjects, who endanger the state of princes; brutish and seditious people, armed always with fury, and as at present with heresy. The Protestants cannot point to one example in all nations and times since Christ, that any monarch has been deposed who has not proved to be a notorious heretic or evil man. "On the other side rebels, especially heretics, by unlawful means, deprive more commonly none but innocent, just and holy princes."

In the seventh chapter, Burghley's argument that Gregory XIII's aggression in Ireland warranted the Queen to use such resistance as was requisite for her own defence, is met by the question, Why the Pope's hostility in Ireland should condemn so many innocent Priests and Catholics that never were in Ireland, nor even were acquainted with the action of that country, or any rebellion against the Queen in either of her kingdoms?—

"If Dr. Sanders, either upon his own zeal and opinion of the justice of the quarrel, or at the Pope's appointment, were in the wars of Ireland employed for the defence of the Catholics may you by your laws condemn therefore to death, a number that never knew either the man or the matter? Some pretence you may have to be offended with the Pope but to make all the Priests and Catholics at home or in banishment traitors thereby is to be unreasonable; and to murder so cruellie one man for another's fault, is too a foul and intolerable iniquity."

If England has fostered rebellion for the last twenty years in Scotland, France and Flanders, if Parliament has published in print that the chief consideration to grant those two great subsidies—in 1563—was in respect of the *Inestimable charges*, to use their own words, sustained by the Queen in maintenance of the rebellious heretics against their liege lords of France,

Scotland and other places, is it any great marvel that the Pope should do that for zeal of true religion, which other kings do for matters of far less importance ? 1584

Lord Burghley had quoted Charles V's sack of Rome, Philip II sending a force under Alva against Paul IV, and Queen Mary's withstanding the said pontiff in the question of the revocation of Cardinal Pole's legation, as proofs that Catholic sovereigns tolerated his title of supremacy only so far as it suited them ; confounding, in his ignorance, as Allen shows, the temporal and spiritual authority. The Pope may yield in temporal matters : " only his pre-eminence and prelacie over our souls . . . this he cannot yield ; this doth no Catholic king or country restrain him of " ; neither were there any laws ever made in any country, or in England (so long as England was Catholic) for abridging his apostolical and mere spiritual authority.

Chapter VIII shows with much force and eloquence that " the separation of the Prince and Realm from the unity of the Church, and fall from Catholic religion, is the only cause of all the present fears and dangers that the State seemeth to stand in."

The libeller had vaunted that all had gone well in England since the break with Rome, and especially since the Queen had been excommunicated. The country may be wealthy and prosperous, Allen admits, but " never was there so much injustice, never so much extortion, never so much theft, never so much pride, ebriety, gluttony, riot, and all other sin and abomination." A few persons, in respect of the rest, are advanced to riches and degrees ; " and doe reckon their present state a terrestrial paradise, feeling their own wealth, and not regarding other men's woes," but the far greater part of the nation of all degrees have been brought to ruin, misery, or extreme danger and desolation. After a graphic description of the pitiful condition of two-thirds of the realm, Catholic at heart even when forced against their conscience to outward conformity—even the poor whipped in the market-places, and their ears cut off for absenting themselves from church, he concludes—

" The greatest and best part of our country being in the extremist

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worldlie miserie (besides the torments of conscience, which pass all other paine) that ever men were in, since Christianity was founded : the adversary's brag of the English felicitie is too vaine, fond and frivolous."

After deploring the strange fact, that the next succession is forbidden ever to be mentioned, when the unity of the two noble realms of England and Scotland into one monarchy, is now offered " by God and nature in the sweetest sort that can be ; and in two persons, mother and son, the one for approved prudence, virtue, courage in adversity, equal love of both countries ; the other for the rarest towardliness in all princely points, cannot yet be accepted, but sought by shameful practices, imprisonment of the one, raising rebellion against the other, either utterly to be defeated, or made uncertain of their certain right, and forbidden to challenge or utter the same."

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The book ends with the ninth chapter, which contains a moving plea for some measure of toleration for the Catholics in England, for half the freedom the Huguenots enjoy in France, or the Catholics in Germany, Switzerland and other places among Protestants. Allen points out that the fundamental error on the part of the Government was that they had not, in the beginning, given liberty of conscience to the Catholics " (being far the greater and more respective part of the Realm) as other of their religious profession have done, to their own great advantage in Germany and other Provinces adjoining."

If they will none of this, if they seek to diminish, bridle, spoil and extinguish the whole generation of Catholics at home and in banishment—

" Yet the Catholics will increase in number, power and zeal ; the Priests will not leave off to follow their dutiful trade, with more spirit, diligence, devotion, patience and constancie than ever before. . . . The persecutors be now no stronger than they were of old. The Church is no weaker than she was wont to be. . . . The Church is not diminished by persecution, but increased."

Roman
Transcripts,
23rd July,
1582

The nuncio in France sent a French copy of Burghley's book to the Cardinal of Como, and added that Allen's answer was not yet out, as far as he knew. For conveying Allen's book

into England, Thomas Alfield, a missionary priest, was ¹⁵⁸⁴⁻⁵ martyred at Tyburn on the 6th July, 1585.

In 1584 Dr. Allen was appointed by the Cardinal Archbishop ^{Vit. Alani, p. 81} to a vacant stall in the metropolitan Church of Rheims, and at the same time exempted from attendance in choir on account of his occupations in the seminary. The prebend attached to each canonry of the Cathedral Churches of Rheims was worth in average years 1,800 *livres*.¹

¹ Cerf.: *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Rheims*, p. 451. Knox, I, p. lxvii.

CHAPTER XII

1585

THE frustrated schemes of the exiles and the Duke of Guise, which, had they been carried to the point of an invasion, would doubtless have ended as disastrously as the abortive rising of 1569, necessarily called forth fresh enactments against the Catholics, and drew the meshes of the net yet closer round the Queen of Scots. Father Creighton, the Scotch Jesuit, had been taken at sea and sent to the Tower, where, at the sight of the rack, he disclosed all the particulars of the projected invasion.¹

The enemies of Mary improved the occasion to agitate Queen Elizabeth's mind with fresh apprehensions, and formed that plan of association by which the subscribers bound themselves to pursue, unto death, not only every person who should attempt, but also every person in favour of whom any other should attempt the life of the Queen, a clause evidently directed against Mary Stuart. When the bond of association was read to the Queen of Scots she accepted it as her death-warrant, though she gallantly offered to add her own signature to it, which she was not permitted to do.²

When the terrible bill of 27th Elizabeth was passing through the two Houses, the English Catholics, before their doom was sealed by the royal assent, presented a long and eloquent petition to the Queen. They vindicated their loyalty and declared—(1) That all Catholics, both laity and clergy, held her to be their sovereign, *de jure* as well as *de facto*. (2) That they believed it to be a sin for any person to lift up his hand against her, as God's anointed. (3) That it was not in the power of priest or pope to give licence to any man to do that which was sinful; and (4) That, if any such opinion were held by any one, they renounced him and his opinion, as heretical and contrary to the Catholic faith. They prayed the Queen

¹ *Dom. Elizabeth*, 173, 4. Knox: II, p. 425.

² Sadler: II, pp. 430, 431. Camden: p. 418.

not to consider them disloyal subjects merely because they¹⁵⁸⁵ abstained from the established service, but would have a merciful consideration of their sufferings, and would refuse her assent to the new law. This petition was universally approved by the chief of the Catholic clergy. When it was asked who would venture to present it to the Queen, Mr. Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, Sussex, took upon himself the risk, for which he had to pay the penalty. The Council committed him to prison for his presumption, where he died, after a confinement of several years. When he was examined by the Council, it was objected that the petitioners should have refuted Dr. Allen's arguments, in his lately published book, in favour of the deposing power; and he was required to sign a paper declaring that all who held the deposing power were traitors, which he refused to do.¹

The new Acts made it high treason for any priest or Jesuit^{27 Eliz., cap. 11} ordained abroad, to come into, or remain in the Queen's dominions. All others, brought up in seminaries beyond the sea (and not ordained) not returning in six months after Proclamation in London, and within two days after their return submitting and taking the oath of supremacy, were equally guilty of high treason. These were the two chief enactments of the new law, before the passing of which, a party of twenty-one "Massing priests," including Edward Rishton, the editor and continuator of Sanders' *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* were "by the Queen's mercy," taken out of the Tower and other prisons, and shipped from the Tower Wharf to France. Rishton and fourteen others arrived at Rheims on the 3rd of March, and he went on to Pont-à-Mousson, where he died of the plague on the 29th June, 1585.

The Queen of Scots was removed from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose honour had been her protection, to that of keepers of inferior rank, Sir Ralph Sadler, and afterwards Sir Amyas Paulet, the dependant of Leicester, with Sir Dene Drury for his assistant. When the news reached Madrid, Sir Francis Englefield wrote to the Cardinal of Como that

¹ Strype: III, p. 298. Lingard: Vol. VI, p. 188 (ed. 1855).

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Roman
Transcripts,
5th Nov.

the Queen had been put into the hands of three most pestiferous puritans of the faction of Lord Huntingdon (a claimant to the succession), "so we may expect the destruction of that good Queen now that she is in the hands of her competitor." In the same letter Englefield bewails his vain efforts, for twenty years, to move Spain to put a term to the miseries of the English Catholics, and that he has less hope now than ever. There is no help but in the Pope.

ibid.,
9th Nov.

Mary's agent at Madrid had given the nuncio, Monsignor Lodi, a letter from the Queen addressed to Mendoza, which he forwarded to Rome. In it Mary says that she clearly foresees, from the change of her custodian and place of detention, that she has nothing more to hope for.¹ She urges that the expedition may go on—

"Without reference to the danger to my person, for I should hold my life well spent, if by its loss I could help so many oppressed Christians, and I tell you this now as my final resolution, doubting whether I may have the possibility of writing again."

Knox,
p. 243

She complains that she has not received a penny of the 12,000 ducats promised to her [by Spain] and that her son has only received 6,000. Mary had already written to Dr. Allen to the same effect, while thanking him for a copy of his book in answer to Burghley's *Course of Justice in England*.

ibid.

Meanwhile, Mary's great confidence in Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan, was not without causing anxiety to her friends in France. Monsignor Ragazzoni, nuncio in Paris, wrote to the Cardinal of Como on the 10th March, 1585, that Morgan was held by many, and especially by the Jesuits, for *un tristo*, and nevertheless the Queen of Scots trusted him more than her own ambassador, as the said ambassador had told the nuncio more than once. Morgan was at that moment in the Bastille, having been sent there by Henry III, when that monarch declined to comply with the English Queen's demands for his extradition, for complicity with William Parry's supposed plot for her assassination.

¹ The Queen of Scots had been removed to Wingfield in the month of September, but was conveyed back to Tutbury in January, 1585.

On the 5th February, 1585, Allen wrote to the Queen of Scots to inform her, unless she already knew that the Duke of Guise had definitely abandoned the English enterprise, the conduct of which had been placed in the hands of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, Governor of the Netherlands.¹ Guise and Philip II had, in fact, signed at Joinville on the 31st December, 1584, the secret treaty assuring the support of Spain to the League, which was busily preparing for the civil war soon to break out against Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots of France. Addressing her as "Madame, my good Soverane," Allen gives her the above information, adding that he, Father Persons and Hugh Owen—one of Allen's chief friends—are henceforth to treat with no other person in her Majesty's affairs. Allen and Persons had been summoned to Tournay by the Prince some time previously for conference, and now Allen informs Mary that Parma—

Knox,
II, p. 247

"Seemeth as glad as we that he may have the effectuating of the whole matter so glorious in the sight of God and man. He giveth good sign to do it straight upon the recovery of Antwerp, but harpeth still on this string, that your Majesty should, by money or means whatsoever, put yourself out of their hands; whereof, and of other matters himself writeth now by another mean for answer to your former [letter]. The Prince of Parma, by order, as I take it, of the King of Spain, acquainteth none particularly and fully with these things but myself, Eusebius [Persons] and Owen."²

Farnese, like his uncle Don John of Austria before him, was entrusted by his jealous monarch with great enterprises without the means to carry them out; as appears from a letter of his to Allen ten months previously, saying that had

ibid.,
I, p. 346

¹ Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma [1547–1592], son of Ottavio, Duke of Parma, who married Margaret of Austria, a natural daughter of Charles V. By skilful diplomacy more than by his natural talents, Farnese succeeded in winning back the Walloon provinces and several important towns. The assassination of William the Silent in 1584 aided his cause, and he was able to reduce Antwerp the following year after a memorable siege.

² A copy of this letter, deciphered by Phelippes, is in the Public Record Office: *State Papers*, "Mary Queen of Scots," Vol. XVII, No. 74.

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he the necessary means and commodities, which are totally lacking, he would put his hand to the work in question.

Knox,
II, p. 240

At this time Allen was also harassed by the question of finance with regard to his college at Rheims. The nuncio in Paris, at his request, had written to the Cardinal of Como in the previous September, that the English College, "sole hope of maintaining the faith in England," was in the greatest straits: Allen informed him that there were 200 students, and that he could not support them all without further help. The answer to this had been, that it seemed to the Pope as if that college were open to all the English who chose to go to it, were they a thousand: a thing absurd and out of all reason *cosa absurda et fuori d'ogni ragione*. The nuncio should have told Dr. Allen to receive no more students than the college income could support; if others applied, they should be told to wait until there was room for them—this is the method followed in all well-ordered establishments. When the reply was made known to Allen, he wrote to the Cardinal Secretary on 16th January, 1585, allowing that this was the usual mode of administering a college, but he had not observed it in the past, nor could he observe it in the future, if England was to be saved—

ibid.,
p. 242*ibid.*,
p. 244

"Our college is a different kind of institution from those which exist for no other purpose than the education of youth, in countries where all is peace. It has a higher and more difficult end, which cannot be attained except by greater efforts, a larger staff and a variety of aids, nor again without venturing sometimes a little beyond what the regular income warrants."

After noting how many very experienced professors are needed to train the men unceasingly for the holy war against heresy, to write books in defence of the faith, etc., he goes on—

"This college should receive at once the sons of gentlemen especially, and others who have been bereft of their relations for the Catholic faith, or who have come hither against their parents' will. For they cannot wait till a vacancy occurs, seeing that they have come . . . stripped of everything, often too with debts contracted on the journey, so that they cannot live a day without our aid, much less return home to the heretics through so many dangers. . . .

"If we had measured our undertaking by the means actually ¹⁵⁸⁵ in hand, this seminary would never have come into being; for it was set up by poor men, who had no wealth, and it existed two entire years at the end of the pontificate of Pius V without any assured subsidy, until his Holiness [Gregory XIII] bestowed on us most graciously a monthly pension of 100 crowns, to which he added afterwards 50 more. On which account he is most deservedly named not only the founder of the College, but also the author of all the great good which has followed from it."

Allen goes on to express the hope that the Pope in his incomparable goodness will in some way or other provide for this salutary work, lest the enemy should say—"I have prevailed against him"—

"Many thousands would be given by our foes to obtain the destruction of this institute; while, on the other hand, no very great increase of the present annual pension, added to the alms of pious persons which we will collect . . . would enable us by Christ's help to hold on our course against the adversaries."

At the same time Allen sent Dr. Bailey, the vice-president of the college, a "truly pious and prudent man," as he describes him in the above letter, to Rome to lay the state of affairs exactly before his Holiness.

Not long after this letter and Allen's envoy reached Rome, Pope Gregory XIII died [20th April, 1585] at the age of eighty-three, and a fortnight later Cardinal Peretti was elected Pope, taking the title of Sixtus V.

For a quarter of a century and more Elizabeth's policy had been to carry on secret warfare with her neighbours through their rebellious subjects: now at last circumstances, and the persuasions of her counsellors, forced her unwillingly to throw away disguise and openly to espouse the cause of the revolted Spanish provinces. The victorious career of the Prince of Parma and the fall of Antwerp, the petition of the States-General that she would consent to number the Belgian people among her subjects, the pleading of Leicester, Burghley and Walsingham induced her to sign a treaty with the States, not as their sovereign but as their ally, not to withdraw them from their dependence on the Spanish crown, but to recover for them the franchises which they formerly enjoyed. She

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furnished an auxiliary army of 5,000 men under Leicester, and received as security for the repayment of her expenses the towns of Brille, Flushing and the strong fort of Rammekins.¹

Roman
Transcripts,
16th Aug.

Not many weeks after the nuncio in Paris had sent the news to Rome of the Prince of Parma's great victory, he sent the tidings that the Queen of England had despatched a force under Lord Leicester and Norris into Zealand.

Vit. Alani,
p. 85

Knox,
I, p. lxxxii

This ominous menace to the hopes of the exiles found Allen prostrated with illness. On the 27th July he was attacked by a strangury, and in seven days was reduced to such a state that his life was despaired of. He had so little hope of recovery that he destroyed his ciphers. As a last chance he was advised to try the waters of Spa, and left Rheims on the 3rd August, amid the tears of the students, after committing the college to the care of the vice-president and seniors. On the eleventh night of the illness an amendment became perceptible, and in a few weeks' time he was restored to his former health.

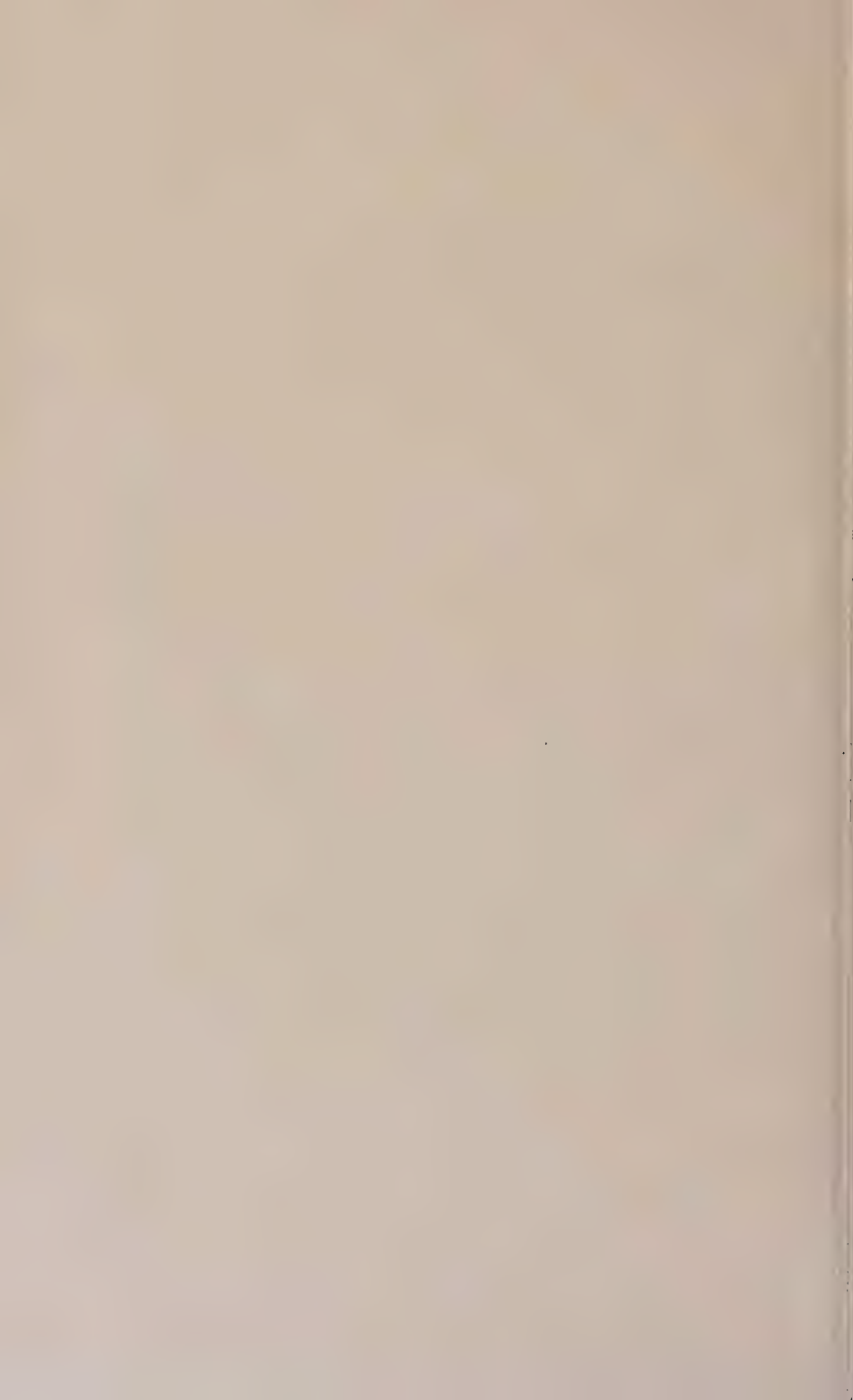
During his convalescence, he received a summons from Rome of so urgent a nature, that as soon as he was fit to travel he left Spa, accompanied by William Morris, a priest, Thomas Hesketh, his nephew, and a servant, John Bias, and started for Italy without going back to Rheims; as would appear from the fact that there is no entry in the Diary of his return to the seminary, which he was destined never to see again. His rule, wise, beneficent and enlightened, had lasted seventeen years, and was to be continued three years longer through his subordinates, before he resigned his office into the hands of Dr. Richard Barret; which seems to denote that he did not at first look upon his separation from the college as final. He had evoked a spirit in the institute of his creation, and had established a tradition which were to endure, through good report and evil report, through manifold difficulties and trials unblemished and intact while persecution lasted:—and until another wave of persecution in the country of exile, swept it back upon its native shores, its work accomplished, 200 years after Allen's death.

¹ Rymer: XV, 93-96. Camden: 444, 446. Lingard, VI, 196.



From the painting by Sassoferrato

SIXTUS V



Of the men ordained at Douay and Rheims during Allen's 1585 presidency more than seventy died on the scaffold, out of the roll of 160 martyred Douay priests, ending with Robert Thwing, put to death for his faith at York on the 23rd October, 1680. Of the number actively working in England it is not possible to speak exactly, but, up to 1585 it cannot have been much less than 500, counting the old Marian priests who, as late as 1596, two years after Cardinal Allen's death, were still between forty and fifty strong.¹ "I have seen," wrote Humphrey Ely in his *Certain Brief Notes*, "fifty priests in one year sent out of Rheims, and yet fifty priests remain in the college." Moreover the seminary despatched every year to the college at Rome a large number of picked students between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five.²

The year before Allen left Rheims, he had the mingled joy and sorrow of welcoming at Rheims the fugitive ladies of his family. The widow of his brother George, with her two daughters, Eleanor and Catherine, and a maid-servant, Margaret Salt, arrived on the 9th September, 1584, "despoiled," as the Diarist notes, "by the heretics of all her possessions—*ab haereticis spoliata omnibus bonis*." The story is so illustrative of the time, and so significant of what was going on throughout the country, that we must give a brief summary of the facts as they appear in *The Seizure and Plunder of Rossall Grange and Toderstaffe Hall* in Bridgewater's *Concertatio*, printed at Treves in 1594, and translated by Mr. Joseph Gillow. Knox,
I, p. 202

There exists a map of Lancashire, on which Lord Burghley with his own hand has marked the estates of the principal Catholics, among them Rossall Grange. And, as the writer tells us, the Council had sent to the sheriff of Lancashire, Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, near Manchester, a list of over 300 Catholics, whose houses were to be searched, and against whom the new laws were to be put in execution. Of these 1584

¹ Knox: I, p. 378. "Cresswell to Cardinal St. Giorgio," Madrid, 24th May, 1596. Knox: I, p. lxiv. "Memorial to Archduke Ernest, Governor of the Low Countries, 1594," *ibid.*, p. 402.

² "Allen to Agazzari," 11th June, 1582: Knox, II, p. 145.

more than 140 were gentlefolk, the remainder respectable citizens. Trafford, who had been appointed at the end of the previous year, was a man well-fitted for Burghley's purpose. Of very ancient lineage, but poor, he was a furious Calvinist, says Bridgewater, and anxious to increase his slender means out of the property of the Catholics, and to adorn his house with the furniture filched from theirs.

Although, as we have seen from Allen's letters, Mrs. Allen had enjoyed great security until this moment, and had been able on occasion to harbour as many as twelve priests at a time, she had not been without moments of peril; for the writer tells us that when she received the news, at the beginning of the year, "as if for a New Year's gift," that she had been specially marked out for arrest, she betook herself, together with George Bramley, a venerable priest, and Mrs. Coniers, a kinswoman of her husband's, "to her accustomed place of retreat," whence she moved "to certain more secret spots that she might not be taken unexpectedly in the quiet night by these hungry brigands, who chose that time especially for breaking into other people's houses."

Mrs. Allen had left her daughters in the house, "in order that whatever came to pass, they might take possession of the furniture, the lands and other property as lawful heiresses, partly from the will and testament of their late father, and partly from their mother's gift *inter vivos*." This gift she had made by the advice of men learned in the law, "and it ought to have been valid and inassailable, if at this day there were left any room in England for common justice."

On the 7th January, at early dawn, the under-sheriff and Huddleston, a justice of the peace, left the house of Mr. Worthington of Blainscough, which they had just plundered, for Rossall Grange. Despite the protests of the servants, who asked to see the warrant—which was not forthcoming—the keys were demanded in the Queen's name, and given up by the eldest Miss Allen. The valuables had been placed in safety, so little was found except a few gold rings and a necklace, which were taken, together with the apparel of the young gentlewomen. Mrs. Allen, who is described as conspicuous

for her rare virtues, prudence and zeal—kept informed in her hiding-place of what was going on—determined to try and starve out the intruders by sending between twenty and thirty of her tenants and neighbours to the Grange, to make New Year's cheer as was the custom. But the rustics were not allowed to remain after nightfall. Some of the sheriff's attendants were led by a spy to the house of one Anion, probably the family steward, where they found concealed in a flour-chest, £500 in gold and a quantity of linen-cloth, which Mrs. Allen had sent two days previously. Two of her servants were thrown into prison, and threatened with all kinds of torments to make them confess that Mrs. Allen intended to send the money to Rheims to Dr. Allen. They answered that they could not confess to a matter of which they had no knowledge, even if a thousand kinds of torment were inflicted upon them.

When Anion was examined, he declared that he had received the money from Mrs. Allen, that it might be given to her daughters in the event of anything happening to herself "in these ups and downs." Mrs. Allen's daughters, girls still in their teens, were not without a share of their mother's piety and courage. Hearing from the sheriff's officers that they were to be removed to Edmund Trafford's house, and to be taught the new religion, they determined to make their escape from Rossall. They succeeded in possessing themselves of the keys of the outer door, so that when night came it was only secured by a bolt inside. In the dead of night "the maidens," writes Bridgewater, "whilst all lay buried in slumber, drew back the bolt and opened the door, then hastened to the nearest ferry." There they providentially found a boat in which they crossed the river, and wandering through by-ways, "scarce daring to trust themselves to anyone's hospitality," they at length reached their mother, "whom they found wavering between hope and fear, after a fortnight's pitiable wandering."

Mrs. Allen was not the woman to give up her children's rights without a struggle. The matter was carried into court at Manchester Assizes, by certain gentlemen and advocates appointed to claim the property in her daughters' names, bringing four witnesses and producing their mother's deed of

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gift. She would not let her daughters appear in person, well knowing that they would be outlawed as recusants like herself, or forced to conform to the new religion. The foreman of the jury was no other than one Edmund Fleetwood, who had bought the reversion of the lease of Rossall, which had still many years to run, and had made several attempts to get hold of the property. He was at once challenged by the other side, but the Sheriff decided that he was a very proper man to pronounce upon the cause. The deed of gift could not be impugned, so the difficulty was solved by a verdict that as the children, in whose name the suit was brought, were not present in court, it might be presumed that they were dead, or had fled the country, and therefore accounted civilly dead; concluding, "Since the mother hath been proclaimed an outlaw we adjudge that all the property doth appertain to the crown, and ought thither to revert." An effort to secure Toderstaffe Hall, bequeathed by their uncle Richard Allen, to the two younger girls was met in the same way.

Dom. Eliz.,
Vol. I, 67,
n. 42

Mrs. Allen then appealed to the Privy Council, in a petition still extant, which met with no better fortune; and Bridgewater gives a curious and detailed account of the subsequent scramble for the property between the Sheriff, some ladies of the Court, and one Baptist, a pensioner of Elizabeth's, and of the manner in which Lord Burghley succeeded in keeping the lion's share of the booty himself. Nothing was now left but flight; Mrs. Allen, after placing her youngest daughter Mary, who cannot have been more than twelve or thirteen years of age, into safe hands, started for the continent with the two elder ones, in a journey of many perils and which lasted two months—travelling at night, lurking in woods and thickets, "or other secret places," by day, they at last reached Rheims in safety on the 9th of September, "to the consolation of the most illustrious House of Guise, of the foremost prelates and nobles, of all the English exiles, and especially of Dr. Allen," the widow's brother-in-law, "on whose account she underwent a great deal of her bitter sorrow."¹

¹ John Bridgewater, who wrote under the name of *Aqua Pontanus Alegambe*. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign he conformed to the

We find in the *Memorandum concerning Cardinal Allen's* ¹⁵⁸⁴⁻⁵ *Relations*, sent to Spain after his death in 1594, that Mrs. Allen ^{Knox, II, p. 372} had been able to transport some fragment of her property, probably in the shape of precious stones, with her in her flight. She will also have seen her only son, John Allen, before his death at Pont-a-Mousson, the following year, at the age of nineteen. She remained at Rheims with her three daughters—for the youngest had subsequently joined her—until March, 1590, when they went to Namur, and, through the good offices of the Prince of Parma, Philip II granted Mrs. Allen a monthly pension of sixty golden crowns—"somewhat irregularly paid." Dr. Allen, while he lived, helped her also to the best of his ability, and there is a letter from him, dated Rome, 22nd February, 1592, addressed to Count Mansfield, Governor of the Low Countries, on behalf of the English exiles in the Low Countries—

"Among others, and more than the others, my brother Gabriel Allen and my sister Elizabeth . . . who have withdrawn from England with their children and family for the sake of religion, and who, on my account have been much persecuted." ^{*ibid.*, p. 341}

Mrs. Allen's two elder daughters, Eleanor and Catherine, became professed nuns in the convent of St. Ursula at Louvain, dying respectively in 1603 and 1612. Mary, who married Thomas Worthington of Blainscough, and became sole heiress after her sister Catherine's death, unsuccessfully laid claim to her brother's estates.¹

Before we follow Allen to Rome, one more incident should be mentioned, which took place in 1584—the arrival at Rheims of Captain John Davis, the adventurous seaman who discovered Davis' Strait the following year. Davis had become reconciled to the Church, and Thomas Alfield, the future martyr, brought

new religion; but afterwards repented, and went to Douay, quitting the rectorship of Lincoln College and all his preferments in 1574. He took several of his students with him. His *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia*, first published in 1583, was enlarged and reprinted in 1594.

¹ "Inquisitio post mortem Joannis Allen," made at Wigan, 3rd April, 1612. Knox: II, p. 445.

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Кнох,
II, p. 227*ibid.*,
p. 233

him to Allen early in the month of March. In the warmth of his conversion, Captain Davis proposed no less than the offer of his service to the Pope or the King of Spain, declaring that the crews of his ships would doubtless sail under him, as they were most of them Catholics. Allen, who wrote a few days later to the Cardinal of Como, that if the expedition to England was not carried out that year, he "would give up all hope in man," and the rest of his life would be bitter to him, hastened to communicate to Monsignor Ragazzoni, nuncio in Paris, Davis' scheme; which was to divert the expedition entrusted to him, and then being fitted out at the charge of Sir Francis Walsingham and many London Merchants for the discovery of the North-West passage, to an expedition against the Turks or against the heretics.

In submitting the proposal, in utmost secrecy to the Cardinal of Como, Ragazzoni describes John Davis as wealthy and of gentle birth, and as having sold all his goods in England and brought his wife and only son to France. Although Gregory XIII expressed his approval of the scheme, and advised Davis to submit it to the King of Spain, it went no further; for on the 7th June of the following year Captain Davis sailed from Dartmouth with two barques on his successful quest of the new passage, to which he gave his name.

The treaty with the States, was not the only alliance made by Queen Elizabeth at this time. The English faction had again become dominant in Scotland, and the young King had been forced to open the gates of Stirling Castle to the exiled lords. Negotiations were opened with Elizabeth, ending in a treaty of alliance by which the Queen of England and the King of Scots bound themselves to support the reformed faith against the efforts of the Catholic powers, and to furnish to each other a competent aid in case of invasion by any foreign prince. During the negotiation, as Lingard points out, the name of the Queen of Scots seems not to have been so much as mentioned.¹ When the nuncio in Paris learned that Dr.

¹ Lingard: *History of England*, Vol. VI, p. 196.

Allen was going to Rome, he wrote a letter in his praise to the Cardinal of Como, dated Paris, 7th October—

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“He is held by all here, and is truly recognised by me, for a man of most ardent zeal for the faith ; for the love of which he left his country, and who is now the refuge of all the Catholics who leave England. He is moreover of a most innocent life *di vita innocentissima*, and of exquisite doctrine.”

Allen arrived at the English Hospice in Rome on the 4th November—Fitzherbert says that he had been summoned at the entreaty of the Jesuit authorities, to pacify the dissensions which had broken out between the students and themselves.

Vit. Alani,
p. 85

But the new Pope had doubtless another, and a political object in view in calling him and Father Persons—the two most important members of the English exiles—to Rome. As Cardinal, Sixtus V had been out of favour with Gregory XIII, and had consequently lived in retirement, unacquainted with matters of state. He now found himself face to face with all the complications of the European situation, not the least of which was the English question ; but his lack of experience was more than compensated for by his genius and sound practical sense, and he quickly obtained a truer knowledge of the character and the ambitions of Philip II than his predecessor had ever possessed. And we have an interesting glimpse of his attitude towards Elizabeth in the early days of his pontificate, in a report from Olivares, the Spanish ambassador in Rome to Philip II. The Pope had said that he had hopes of Elizabeth, because she trusted Catholics rather than Protestants. The Cardinal of Como had explained this to the ambassador by telling him that Elizabeth had said—“if everything else went wrong, *corriesse turbio*, she could remedy all by hearing a Mass.”¹

The French interests at Rome were furthered by the Cardinals of Medici, d'Este, Gonzaga and others, who hoped for the conversion of James VI, and his recognition by Elizabeth as heir to the English crown, entailing, of course, the exclusion of Spanish influence in England. Cardinal Sanzio watched

¹ Simancas : *Est.*, 354 = 946, f. 43.

1585

the interests of the Duke of Guise, while Caraffa, Sirleto, Como and, later on, Allen, worked incessantly to forward the views of Philip II.

The cause of dissension between the students of the English College and their rulers are set down, and apparently with perfect fairness, by Humphrey Ely, in his *Certain Brief Notes*. Italian methods were repugnant to the Englishmen—the open penances in hall, the surveillance and *espionage* which, as Ely says, had they been attempted at Oxford or Cambridge, the offenders would have risked being torn in pieces. He continues—

p. 82

“The third cause of discontent, mother of sedition, is when such scholars as have whollie addicted themselves to priesthood to serve their country, see others who intend to be of the Society, to be more favoured, more cherished and more often in Father Minister’s room at collations, have more free access to the Rector, and to be better countenanced than them; this affection which the Fathers bear to such, can neither be wisely hid of the one, nor well digested of the other.”

These grievances, petty though they might be, had not been unnoticed by Dr. Allen. Too large-minded himself, to conceive jealousy at the loss of the priests whom he had carefully trained for the mission, or to complain when they entered religion; he was ever ready to foresee, and take into account the effect which might be produced on his weaker brethren. As early as July, 1580, he had written to Father Agazzari—

“The greatest care must be taken, at this your start, that the young men should not seem to be impelled . . . to your order, on account of offence and scandal to those who are weak.”¹

1583

This letter being shown to Father Manare, Vicar of the Society, he wrote at once to Allen that he was pleased with his advice; but not a word had been said at Rome on the subject. Should the question arise they would be mindful of his counsels, “and nothing shall be done,” he adds, “which we do not deem will tend very greatly to the glory of God.”

Two years later the question came up again: Father Agazzari had written to Allen that he was disturbed at accusations of unduly drawing students into the Society; and

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

Aquaviva, General of the Order, referring to some priests in ¹⁵⁸⁵ England, who had set their hearts upon becoming Jesuits, says he is entirely of Allen's opinion that at this juncture they must not desert their post, and that he has so informed Father Persons months ago. He adds that Allen will do him a favour by writing himself to those who are so inclined—

“In fine, for their consolation and that they may bear being thus put off more patiently, I allow your Reverence to impart in my name, to those whom you shall judge fit, participation of merit in all the good works which by God's grace are done in the Society.”¹

Complaints continued to reach Allen from Rome, for Aquaviva writes again on the 22nd March, 1584, that what Allen had suggested in a recent letter as to receiving Englishmen into the Society, had been received by him as the promptings of a friendly disposition. At the same time the caution and self-restraint of the Society had been great, for the very reasons Allen adduces, as he has been quite well-informed by Father Persons, and by Father Agazzari's letters—

“And truly, whatever may be the nature of the complaints which your Reverence describes as being in the air on this head, and whatever be the reckoning we shall have to take of them, we are determined to be for the future so circumspect as to lop away every excuse for such talk, so that forsooth—in that we are “debtors to all” we will endeavour with God's grace, to satisfy even those who are weaker.”²

The malcontents were not without a grievance: about sixty-nine Englishmen had become Jesuits between the years 1556 and 1580, and the number greatly increased after the latter date, yet the number sent into England was surprisingly small. After Father Persons' departure, Father Jasper Heywood became rector, but his health and his nerve broke down, and some English gentry wrote to Dr. Allen asking that he might be recalled.³ There were seldom more

¹ *Catholic Record Society: Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*: “Notes on Letters from Allen and Persons,” No. 11. Heywood must have returned to England, because he was one of the priests deported in 1585.

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Knox,
I, p. lxiv

than four or five Jesuits at a time in England, and even so late as 1598, eighteen years after Campion and Persons arrived in the country, they numbered only sixteen, of whom one was in prison.

ibid.,
p. lxv

The same proportion held good among those who fell in defence of the faith. During the forty-four years of Elizabeth's reign, although the persecution raged even more hotly against the Jesuits than the Seculars, 160 seminary priests were martyred to seven Jesuits, one Benedictine and one Franciscan. Of the Jesuits, four—Father Briant, John Cornelius, Roger Filcock and Francis Page were all secular priests who joined the Society shortly before their death; the first when in the Tower under sentence of death, the next two were apprehended as they were starting for Flanders to enter the novitiate, and Francis Page's only relation to the Society was that he declared on the gallows a vow he had made to enter it.

We can thus understand the heart-burning among those who claimed that men trained in the two English colleges should, whether seculars or regulars, devote themselves to the English mission; and that it required all Allen's gentle authority, tact and experience to restore and preserve harmony and good-will between the students and the authorities, for it appears plain that their Italian superiors—as was perhaps, only natural—did not see the question in exactly the same light as the Englishmen. When Allen, in 1582, had asked for more Jesuits for England, Aquaviva, their General, wrote to Father Persons in Paris on the 3rd July, 1584—

“ We have heard say that the zeal of our missionaries in England increases the persecution. Consult this point with Allen, and report on the probabilities of our men working safely and with fruit to souls. To send missionaries in order to give edification by their patience under torture, might injure many Catholics and do no good to souls.”

A few months later, Aquaviva wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 1st January, 1585, on the same subject—

“ If ever we hold back, you may be sure that the reason is that we are either unable to help, or that we know others would do the

work better, or that the business is such that for its own sake, it should be treated by others." ¹

Allen wrote to Agazzari, at the time of the earlier troubles, on the 28th May, 1582— Knox,
I, p. lxxvii

"I know for certain and from experience that it would be easier to guide to salvation a thousand souls in England than a hundred in this exile, which of itself breeds murmurings, complainings, contradiction and discontent. When Moses leads the people through the desert, he suffers much. . . . This is the peculiarity of exiles, but we must not faint."

As one measure of pacification, a change from an Italian to an English rector was arranged, and Pope Sixtus V removed Father Agazzari from the office on the 25th April, 1586, appointing William Holt, S.J., in his place.

Mary Queen of Scots had long since recommended Owen Lewis to the Court of Rome as a faithful and trustworthy person; and on the 30th April, 1586, she wrote to him from Chartley saying she had heard from her servant Morgan of his efforts on her behalf. She now charges him to excuse her with the Pope that the strictness of her captivity has prevented her from congratulating him on his elevation: she expects no less from Sixtus V than from Pius V of happy memory, whom she has always held in veneration. After declaring her determination to live and die in the Catholic faith, the Queen recommends the English and Scotch seminaries to the Pope, also her servant Morgan, of whose fidelity she is assured. Cardinal Sermoneta, the Protector of the Scotch, having died, Mary elects Cardinal Mondevi, if it so pleases the Pope, as his successor. ² 1586
Roman
Transcripts

All Mary's correspondence was now being deciphered in Phelippes' office before it was forwarded to its destination, as was the following letter to William Allen—the last she ever wrote to him, for her days were numbered. After explaining that she had had no means of writing or receiving letters,

¹ J. H. Pollen, S.J.: *The Month* (April, 1902), p. 11.

² Mondevi had been sent as nuncio to Scotland by Pius V. After his appointment as protector of Scotland, it was said that he favoured the malcontents in the English College in Rome.

1586

since Allen's of February, 1585, had reached her on the 20th April, 1586, she states that she can give no advice on any matter, being a mere stranger to the course of the world abroad—

“ If the Pope and the King of Spain reache forth their actions for the weal and advancement of God's cause, I hope their own private and mine shall not fare the worse. . . . They have overslipped many good occasions, and I wish they should not yet withal omit this now offered, pinching them so near, by this Quene.”

Mary was in correspondence with Alexander Farnese, for she adds that although she is assured of her messenger Ligon's fidelity, she will accept the Prince of Parma's offer and will answer him by whomsoever he liketh best. The occasion “ pinching ” the Pope and King of Spain so near, was the Queen of England's alliance with the Low Countries and the war she was carrying on there against Philip II.

It is here necessary to say a word of some of the chief spies abroad, who were furnishing Walsingham with ample information of all that was going on. There was Solomon Aldred, an ex-tailor, in Rome, actually in receipt of a pension from the Pope as an exile for the faith. His wife was at Lyons, which furnished an excellent excuse for his excursions from Rome, frequently made in company of members of the English College : thus we find Allen, writing from Rheims to Agazzari on the 29th October, 1580—“ On the 27th, your four priests arrived, and with them goes that married man Aldred.”¹ Four years later his treachery was discovered, by some of his letters being intercepted in France, “ full of suspicious and scandalous matter,” as Allen wrote to the Cardinal of Como on the 20th July, 1584. Aldred was well supplied with secret-service money, and, before he was found out, was unfortunately by it enabled to tempt one of Allen's own students to treachery.

Gilbert Gifford, the hateful traitor of Mary Queen of Scots, was the son of John Gifford of Chillington, Staffordshire. He entered Douay College on the 31st January, 1577, at the age

Knox,
II, p. 234

¹ *Catholic Record Society : Miscellanea*, Vol. VII.

of sixteen, being described as *clarus adolescens* in the Diary. ¹⁵⁸⁶
 Two years later, he was sent to the college in Rome, where ^{Knox,}
 he met Aldred, and readily promised to enter English secret ^{I, p. 114}
 service at some future date. Meanwhile, although his superiors
 did not suspect his intentions, they found him of a deceitful
 and dissimulating character, and sent him back to Rheims,
 where he arrived on the 23rd June, 1582; and Allen wrote to
 Agazzari, in the following August, that while he had the highest
 hopes of William Gifford, Gilbert's cousin, he had none of Gilbert
 himself.¹ The young man went to England and then back to
 Italy, Allen writing to Agazzari on the 20th October, 1582,
 that he knows nothing of his movements while in England,
 nor whom he saw there except his father; and he had only
 written one short Italian note to his cousin from Paris on his ¹⁵⁸⁵⁻⁶
 way to Italy. So dissatisfied did Allen become, that in March
 of the following year he wrote to Agazzari that he objected to
 Gilbert Gifford remaining at either seminary. With great ^{Knox,}
 apparent penitence Gifford thereupon returned to Rheims in ^{II, p. 186}
 September, 1583, and, after imploring Allen's forgiveness for
 his past misconduct, set himself to work at his theological
 studies.

It was most probably at Walsingham's suggestion that he
 went through the sacrilegious deceit of preparing for the priest-
 hood. He was ordained sub-deacon in March, and deacon in
 April, 1585. He went to Paris in the following October, and
 immediately visited Thomas Morgan in the Bastille. Morgan,
 of whose fidelity to the Queen of Scots there can be no question,
 was deceived by Gifford's feigned ardour for her cause, and
 enlisted him in his service as messenger between the imprisoned
 Queen and her friends. Gifford then proceeded to England,

¹ Both the cousins justified Allen's opinion. William Gifford [1554-1629], Archbishop of Rheims, was a son of John Gifford, of Hampshire. He left Lincoln College, Oxford, for Louvain in 1573, and went to the English college in Rome in 1579. He was ordained priest in 1582, and Allen then invited him to Rheims to teach divinity, which he continued to do for twelve years. Cardinal Allen persuaded him to go to Rome in 1593, and appointed him his principal chaplain and almoner. He took the Benedictine habit in 1605, and was made Archbishop of Rheims in 1621. He was famous for his great sanctity and charity to the poor.

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and to Phelippes' the decipherer's house where he was entertained as a foreigner, under the name of Nicholas Cornelius ; he went to Chartley, where the Queen of Scots was confined under the harsh rule of Sir Amyas Paulet, who knew him for a spy, and so gave him every facility for conversing with the Queen, and arranging with her for that renewal of correspondence with her friends, which was to pass through not only his hands, but those of Walsingham and Phelippes—not to mention those of Arthur Gregory, a man skilled in the art of counterfeiting seals, and of restoring them after they had been broken.¹ Thus was the ground laid for that Babington conspiracy, which was to bring Mary to the scaffold.

Gifford went three times backwards and forwards between England and France with the privy both of the Queen of Scots and of Walsingham, and finally returned to Rheims and was ordained priest on the 14th March, 1587.

1586

Bracketed with Gifford as false brethren, must be placed another priest, John Ballard, ordained at Rheims in 1581, and sent on the English mission the same year. He had received pay as a spy from some members of the Queen's Council, but had given up the disgraceful occupation some years before he returned to England in 1585 under the name of Captain Fortescue, and in the service of Morgan, to collect information for the exiles in Paris. He became the chief agent in promoting the Babington plot, but it does not appear clear in how far he connived at its discovery. As he was executed on the 20th September, 1586, he may have the benefit of the doubt.

As the above spies and traitors were the chief instruments in working the destruction of Mary, so Thomas Rogers, *alias* Nicholas Berden, may be regarded as Walsingham's principal agent in counteracting the designs of Spain. Rogers' first letter to Walsingham was written from Rouen on the 11th August, 1585. He has delivered the token of Transom, *alias* Barber to Thomas Fitzherbert, who, upon sight thereof, had received him most willingly, and had given him credit with all the papists in Paris. He describes how they are divided into

¹ Lingard : *History of England*, Vol. VI, p. 201.

two factions, and gives their names, adding, " Dr. Allen plays ¹⁵⁸⁶ on both hands, and Thomas Throgmorton is rather with the Jesuits than against them." The projected enterprise to England is more or less accurately described, with the comment—"all the papists at Rouen expect to be in England by Christmas."¹

Walsingham had apparently been able to supply his agent with intercepted ciphers—

" All this was told me by Thomas Fitzherbert, as a great secret, upon my showing him the three cyphers. . . . Fitzherbert is likely to know these matters as he is secretary to all the persons before-mentioned of our nation, and of the Jesuits' party. He has offered me a chamber in his house in Paris."

It is interesting to find that Walsingham's spies were not discovered to each other, except so far as he deemed expedient ; for while Solomon Aldred, writing from Paris on the 24th April, 1586, relates how he had paid money to Gifford, and had brought the English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, secretly at night to him and Edward Grately—another priest in English pay—in Aldred's lodging, " satisfying them greatly by his sweet speeches and friendly entertainment," Rogers, also writing from Paris, appears to have considered Gilbert Gifford a faithful partisan of Allen's ; and says that it is supposed he had been charged to convey into England a new bull of excommunication against Elizabeth.²

By a further letter from Rogers March [?], 1586, we find that he has established a regular correspondence with the chief exiles in Paris, who are sending him to England, in order that he may transmit intelligence to them ; so that, as he explains, he will know the whole affairs of Allen and Persons on the one hand, and those of the French faction on the other. This letter is endorsed by Phelippes—" From Berden to Mr. Secretary

¹ *Dom. Eliz. Addenda*, 1585, p. 149. Thomas Fitzherbert was the brother of Nicholas Fitzherbert, Cardinal Allen's secretary and biographer. He was esteemed by Allen, who, in January, 1584, had suggested him to Agazzari as an agent in Rome. He afterwards became a Jesuit. Of Transom *alias* Barber, we possess no information.

² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

1586

Walsingham, the account of the employment put upon him by them beyond the sea.”¹

Knox,
II, p. 251

Little knowing how their every act was being betrayed to their enemies, the partisans of Mary in France and England were taking the measures which were to result in the Babington conspiracy, and the Queen's death, while Allen and Persons were labouring in her cause at Rome. We find by a despatch of Count Olivares, Spanish ambassador in Rome to Philip II, of the 24th February, 1586, that Allen had done his best with the Pope, and had inspired him with a great desire for the English enterprise; Sixtus V seems satisfied that the operations should be entrusted to the Prince of Parma, with whom he is on very good terms. On the other hand, the princes of Guise have requested his Holiness to do nothing with regard to the enterprise without their participation, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Sens is trying to persuade him that this is not the proper time for it. The importance of secrecy has been impressed upon the Pope by Olivares, and no one but Cardinal Caraffa is entrusted with the affair. To him, therefore, Olivares has given the book [against Burghley's *Execution of Justice*] and letters of Allen, who has acted very well in this business.

Sixtus V, anxious as he was to help the captive Queen of Scots, and to restore religion in England, was determined not to work for purely Spanish aims to the prejudice of France. He distrusted the aims of Philip, and suspected the ambitiousness of his designs, insisting, as far as it was possible, upon obtaining a clear understanding as to what course the King meant to pursue in England, should he succeed in the conquest of the country. On the other hand, the object of Philip's ambassador was to obtain the subsidy of a million from the Roman treasury, without pledging his master to any definite promises on that score. A keen war of wits ensued between the Pope and the ambassador, and was carried on for the next two years.

So Olivares, in the above despatch, describes how he is trying to persuade the Pope that the King's object is *not*

¹ *Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. CLXXXVII, March (?), 1586.

vengeance for private wrongs, the advantage which the enterprise offers for the affairs of Holland, or the impossibility of securing the passage to the Indies in any other way—"a thing which there is no means of getting him to understand," Olivares therefore asks for very particular instructions, especially as to the deprivation of the King of Scots, of his right to succeed to the English crown at his mother's death. He continues—

"I have not touched upon the subject of Allen's cardinalate, for I think it very fitting, as your Majesty says, that it should progress at the same pace as the enterprise, if this is not to be delayed; since in that case the Theatine [Father Persons] says it would be of great importance as a means of keeping the Catholics in good heart. . . . As this good man suffers need, I should think it no harm if your Majesty were to grant him some assistance, which, so long as he is not cardinal, might be 1,000 crowns, or five hundred would not be bad. . . . I think it very important to lay under an obligation this man who will have to lead the whole cause, and on whom it will chiefly depend to move the Pope to what your Majesty desires about the succession."

James VI's adhesion to the doctrines of Calvin now appeared established beyond dispute, and for that reason his succession to the crown upon his mother's death was looked upon as impossible—even by Mary herself. She had already written to Mendoza the previous year that her son's continued heresy had nearly broken her heart, and that she had determined to cede and make over to the King of Spain her own right of succession to the English throne—

"For the discharge of my own conscience I could not hope to place them in the hands of a Prince more zealous in our Catholic faith, or more capable in all respects of re-establishing it in this country. . . . I am obliged in this matter to prefer the public welfare to the aggrandisement of my posterity."¹

The Pope, in the audience of which Olivares gives the above report, had suggested that the Queen of Scots should marry some Englishman of the blood royal, with right of succession to her, in case she were to die without children. This sensible

¹ Martin Hume: *Two English Queens and Philip*, p. 436.

suggestion was combated by Olivares with several lame reasons, which cannot have had much effect upon the shrewd Pope; the chief of which was the danger to which the Queen's life would be exposed through the desire of her husband to succeed her—

“His Holiness is quite satisfied that your Majesty has no thought of the succession of England. . . . I also see that he is far from imagining that your Majesty has any intention on behalf of your own, and therefore he will be greatly amazed when it is touched upon with him, and, however much he may be pledged to agree to what your Majesty thinks fit, I think he will not fail to raise some difficulty. . . .

“What I say further on about restoring to the Pope the money he advances for this enterprise may serve as a bridge for this, by saying that, in compensation for your Majesty's contributions, the succession to that realm shall be the dower of the Lady Doña Isabel; and even if nothing more be said than that it will be retained until your Majesty has been paid all that you have spent upon the English enterprise . . . it would come to the same thing, since in a few years it would increase to so large a sum that it would be impossible for any one to collect what would be necessary to meet it.”

Possessed, like his father before him in his latter days, with the lust of universal sovereignty, Philip II's ambition was to compensate himself for the loss of the Austrian dominions—bequeathed away from him by Charles V to his brother, Ferdinand—by placing one of his daughters, the Infanta Isabel¹ on the throne of England instead of the heretic James VI, and his younger daughter upon that of France, in lieu of the heretic Henry of Navarre.”

In sharp contrast with the warlike policy of Allen and Persons was the attitude of men—and they were numerous even

¹ Isabel-Clara of Austria [1566-1633]. She was the daughter of Philip II by his first wife, Elizabeth Valois. Having failed to establish this, his favourite child, on the thrones of England or France, Philip ceded the Low Countries to her in May, 1598, after marrying her to the Archduke Albert of Austria. Her vow not to change her linen until her husband had carried the siege of Ostend, gave rise to the name of *couleur Isabelle*, still used in French for a tawny white or yellowish hue which her linen had assumed during the three years' siege of the town.

among the exiles—like Sir Richard Shelley and Dr. William Gifford, the future Archbishop of Rheims, who had not yet surrendered the hope of a peaceful solution of the religious question in England. The latter, in a fine letter to Walsingham, dated Rheims, 18th April, 1586, and entrusted to his cousin Gilbert, of whose treachery he was entirely ignorant, expresses very touchingly his longing desire to live in England as a loyal subject to the Queen, if only she will tolerate his religion. Walsingham had sent him a passport and a courteous letter, probably at Gilbert Gifford's suggestion that he might be gained; but he stoutly confesses that he means to live and die in the Catholic faith, though he is "far from those intemperate spirits" who unnaturally seek to disturb and change the state by joining foreigners, or consenting to the subversion of her Majesty's State by them: making religion "a column of the accomplishing of their ambitious desires—"

"This I have said, spoken and written publickly and privatelie, and if herein I may serve her Majestie I am moste ready. . . . I have (I assure your honor) from time to time, besought some of my friends by earnest persuasion to return home and join with her Majestie for the defence of her sacred person and the weal of my dear country against all ambitious foreign practices. . . . [They], with tears have protested that if they might have assurance of their conscience under her Highness' protection, they would willingly cast themselves, their honours, lands and lives at her Majestie's feet."

The letter concludes with an urgent petition for some relaxation of that rigour which is causing "the effusion of blood in many places."

In June, 1586, Cardinal San Sisto died, and the Pope, in a brief, dated the 30th of the month, appointed Cardinal Caetani protector of the English in his place.

Knox,
II, p. 262

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CHAPTER XIII

1586 PHILIP II was in no hurry to reply to the long despatch of Olivares of the 24th February. On the 8th May, Allen wrote to Don Juan de Idiaquez, Spanish Secretary of State, accrediting Michael Hernandez, a trustworthy messenger, who will explain the urgency of the affairs of England. On the 20th Father Persons followed this up with a letter to Idiaquez, in Allen's name and his own—Hernandez will tell him everything that is for the service of God, and will explain all their doubts and difficulties, which they do not find it convenient to write down. He urges Allen's promotion to the Cardinalate, reminding Idiaquez how he had pressed it upon him at Lisbon several years before. Things have grown worse since that time, when the imprisoned Queen was in the hands of one of their greatest friends [Shrewsbury], and nearly all the Catholics in both kingdoms were at the disposal of Dr. Allen, because of the great authority he had with them—

Кнох,
II, p. 263

“Now some factions have arisen, either through the artifices of the heretics, or by the envy of the less spiritually minded. One thing is certain, if he is not made a Cardinal, Allen should have some dignity accorded him, which will keep his friends in hopes of some good happening in the future.”¹

ibid.,
p. 265-66

These letters remained unanswered until the 22nd July, when Philip II, with cold precision, states his opinion in a reply to Olivares' despatch of the previous February. They deceive themselves who give the Pope to understand that the robberies and outrages of the English [*i.e.*, the depredations of Drake, etc.], would move his Majesty to undertake the enterprise of his own accord.

His Majesty knows the situation of England, and that the French, with many others near and far, being devoid of zeal for Christianity and for the return of that realm to the faith, would endeavour to hinder it. His Majesty is more bound to

¹ Simancas : *Legato*, 947, f. 8.

secure his own states and their religion, than to take in hand ¹⁵⁸⁶ to further it in the states of others. The English are dying to come to terms with his Majesty, whose only motive in entering upon this negotiation is the service of God, and the persuasions of his Holiness ; who must force himself to enlarge his offer in order to render possible the execution of the enterprise.

Four days later, the Bishop of Castro, nuncio at Madrid, ^{Roman Transcripts, 26th July} wrote to inform the Cardinal Secretary of State that Cardinal Granvela had told him, that as for the English enterprise, they were no more ready to undertake it than to jump into the river—"Those were his very words."

Olivares, in his next audience, did his best with the Pope, "though it was like preaching in the desert," he complains in his next despatch to Philip, dated 29th August, "What I suffered from him the first day, and the state in which I left him, your Majesty will have learned from my letter to Don Juan de Idiaquez."¹ Sixtus V, though with "several limitations and evasions," had at last reluctantly consented to leave the appointment of a successor to Mary Queen of Scots to the decision of the King of Spain ; and Olivares had gilded the pill by notifying his Master's assent to the effectual reintegration of the Apostolic See in the jurisdiction, contributions and rights it had possessed before the Schism of Henry VIII.

While Spain was thus holding off, and the French party were pressing on the Pope a scheme formed by the Earls of Arran and Huntley for setting James VI, with the help of the Duke of Guise, free from the English party ;—in England William Cecil had brought his long-cherished project, the destruction of the Queen of Scots, to maturity ; and the Babington plot, so skilfully woven by Walsingham and Gilbert Gifford was ripe for écloison.

On the 9th August, three weeks before the above despatch of Olivares was penned, Anthony Babington, with four of his associates, Gage, Charnock, Barnewell and Donne, was taken

¹ Teulet : V, p. 349, *seq.* Knox : II, p. lxxxv.

at Harrow, in the house of Mr. Bellamy, and committed to the Tower. On the 20th and 21st September he and fourteen other young men, all but one or two of illustrious birth, were executed at Tyburn. The Queen, on being told that she could not have her wish that some death, more barbarous and excruciating might be devised for them, directed that their executions should be "protracted to the extremitie of paine," and in full sight of the people. "On the first day she was obeyed," writes Lingard—

"But the youth, the rank and the demeanour of the sufferers so powerfully excited the pity, and the barbarity of the punishment, the horror of the spectators, that it was deemed prudent to concede something to public feeling; and on the next morning the remaining seven were allowed to expire on the gallows, before their bodies were subjected to the knife of the executioner."¹

Then, upon evidence furnished by manipulated and doctored copies of letters, of which not one original was ever produced, despite her repeated requests, the Queen of Scots, after nineteen years' captivity, was tried and found guilty of conspiring against the life of her sister Queen, on the 29th October, 1586. The remonstrances of the feeble Henry III of France did little more than cause Walsingham himself to come over to Paris. The nuncio in France wrote on the 9th November—"A gentleman from that English Jezebel has arrived here to give an account of the trial of the Queen of Scots." The nuncio goes on to state that he has talked at some length with the King on behalf of that unhappy Queen, and Henry III has promised to do all he can, and will send some one to England.

The moment Gilbert Gifford's treachery was about to bear fruit in the arrest of Babington and his friends, he deemed it

¹ Lingard: *History of England*, Vol. VI, p. 210. Anthony Babington was the eldest son and heir of Henry Babington of Dethick, in Derbyshire, of very ancient family. He was about twenty years of age when he placed himself at the head of the little band of young men zealous like himself for the faith, and determined to attempt the release of the Queen of Scots and the assassination of Elizabeth. An account of their executions may be found in Howell, I, 1127-1158; Camden: 493; and two letters from Burghley to Hatton.

wise to leave England to escape the vengeance of the friends ¹⁵⁸⁶⁻⁷ of those whom he had betrayed, and, under the disguise of a servant of a member of the French embassy he escaped to France, went to Rheims, resumed his studies for the priesthood, and was ordained on the 14th March, 1587.

After her condemnation, Mary wrote several important letters which she entrusted to her almoner, a French priest of the name of Préau, who had been allowed access to her by Sir Amyas Paulet, and all of which reached their destination safely, though with considerable delay. They were dated Fotheringay, 23rd November, and addressed to the Pope, to Mendoza, to the Duke of Guise, and to her ambassador in France, the Archbishop of Glasgow. In her letter to Sixtus V occurs the following passage with regard to Philip II—if God, on account of her sins, permits her son to remain obstinate, knowing no prince so zealous for the faith, or so capable of restoring it in this island as the King of Spain, or from whom she has received more help and counsel in her necessities—with the Pope's good pleasure she leaves all her rights and interests in the kingdom to him.¹ Knox,
II, p. 279-80

To Mendoza Mary wrote that she was dying in a good quarrel, and content at having ceded her right to the King, his master—

“ Je meurs en bonne querelle et étant en aise d'avoir quitté mon droit au Roi votre maître.”

According to the endorsement on these two letters, it appears <sup>ibid.,
p. 280</sup> that the first did not reach the Pope until the 25th March, 1588; and the other is endorsed by Mendoza as having been received in Paris on the 15th October, 1587—*Recivió se en Paris a 15 Octubre, 1587*. We have no explanation of the delay of a year and five months in the one case, and of eleven months in the other.

Before the end of 1586 the condemnation of the Queen of Scots was known in Rome and in Madrid, but there, as elsewhere, great doubts were entertained as to whether the sentence would ever be carried out. We therefore find Olivares, in a

¹ The original letter is in the Vatican archives. Published in *Labanoff*, Vol. VI, p. 453.

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despatch of 27th January, speaking of the death of the Queen as a probability only. He is sending a paper drawn up by Allen and Persons for his own instruction on English affairs, and says of them—

Knox,
II, p. 268

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“ They have ready wit and speech about the affairs of England, and on the other hand they are helped by that great teacher, necessity, and thus find means to draw from everything arguments and thoughts in proof that each moment, whichever it may be, is the most suitable time for the accomplishment of their desires, both as regards the principal affair and Allen’s promotion; for every moment lost they regard as a great injury, and it is certain that if the Queen of Scotland should die or continue in her present state—which comes to the same thing, it would be more necessary to have someone in high position upon whom all can fix their eyes and hopes, and who will console them in their affliction, that they may not give way to despair.”

ibid.,
II, p. 269,
11th Feb.

The King of Spain’s answer was a masterpiece of caution and indecision: Allen and Persons are to be maintained in hope “ in order that they may the more zealously act upon the Pope, but not in such a way that they may think the affair so near at hand as to make them expansive.” Olivares is to go on “ counterbalancing and drawing profit from them with prudence and dexterity.” Philip had, however, made up his mind to give Allen an abbey in Capua, which had fallen vacant through the recent death of Bernardino de Mendoza, brother of the Marquis of Mondejar. In writing to inform Olivares of the fact, and that he may tell Allen “ so as to keep him in good heart while the patent is being sent to the Council of Italy,” Idiaquez speaks of it as “ a very pretty piece of preferment.”

The King had also determined to press the matter of Allen’s elevation to the purple; and Olivares accordingly presented to the Pope on the 14th March, 1587, a memorandum of reasons “ why it is of importance to God’s service and the cause of religion in England to hasten the promotion of Allen.” The continued imprisonment of the Queen of Scots has emboldened the heretics and depressed the Catholics: the negotiations carried on with her within the realm have been cut short, and the faithful are becoming divided, as there is no personage whom all can recognise without detriment to their honour.

If it be possible to carry out the enterprise speedily, there ¹⁵⁸⁷ are necessary preliminaries to be seen to, which would rouse suspicion, and would have no authority or force if done by a private individual. On the other hand, if the enterprise is delayed, it will become all the more necessary to apply without delay this plaster to the wound, so that the afflicted flock may see by the acts of the Pope, that he grieves for them and thinks of a remedy.

Speed is also important, so that when Allen goes to join the expedition, his authority may already have struck deeper root, from his promotion having become known to high and low in England—

“In the person of Dr. Allen everything which can be desired concurs; for he belongs to no party; he has learning, morals, judgment, great acquaintance with everything in that kingdom and with the travails for its conversion; the instruments of these have been and are his disciples, of whom so many have suffered martyrdom that his purple may be said to have been dyed in their blood.”

Philip II takes it upon himself to assure his Holiness that if the promotion is delayed—no matter whether the enterprise is hastened forward or delayed—great harm may result. The Pope has a great motive for action in the supplications of the Catholics to give them a leader, to supply for the protection which the Queen of Scots used to afford them; and to raise to a high dignity from among her own people a declared and chief enemy of the Queen of England; also to bestow an extraordinary reward upon a man who has deserved so well of the Apostolic See. Sixtus V need have no anxiety about having to maintain him: the abbey Philip is now giving him will maintain him as a poor Cardinal. Should it be necessary for him to live in greater splendour later, his Majesty will make fitting provision for it.

At the bottom of this memorandum Cardinal Caraffa wrote as follows—

“His Holiness answers that as soon as his Majesty has every-
thing in order for the enterprise, his Holiness will be ready to
create Mr. Allen Cardinal. It does not appear to him advisable
to do this sooner, when what is intended would not take place
simultaneously with it. . . .”

Knox,
II, p. 270

1587

Roman
Transcripts,
24th Mar.

The very rumour of Allen's elevation caused the nuncio in France to write to the Bishop of Novara, nuncio at Madrid, that the promotion would cause great suspicion in England. He might have added, that it would give considerable umbrage to all the partisans of the Scottish succession to the throne of England.

ibid.,
6th April

When Olivares presented the above memorandum to the Pope, the Queen of Scots had ceased to live, having been put to death on the 18th of February. After sending an account of her execution to Rome—as given by the French ambassador to Henry III—the nuncio in Paris writes to the Cardinal of Como that the King is greatly grieved at the death and martyrdom, *la morte et martirio* of the Queen of Scots. He and all the Court took royal mourning. The Duke of Maine came in without mourning, and when the King asked why, he answered because he wished to wear it with sword in one hand and fire in the other. The King caused Mary's obsequies to be performed at Notre Dame as for a Queen of France.

We do not know at what price Gilbert Gifford had sold his conscience and his honour, but he did not enjoy the fruits of his perfidy for very long. Still unsuspected, he went to Paris from Rheims after his ordination, and appears to have employed himself, with the aid of Edward Grately, in writing two scurrilous books against Dr. Allen and the Jesuits.¹ Some time in December, 1587, he was found in a house of ill-fame and brought before the Archbishop of Paris, who committed him to prison.² The English ambassador, Sir Henry Stafford, wrote a letter of dismay to Walsingham, dated Paris, December—

"I wrote to you of the taking of Gifford the priest, for whom I would have done what I could to help him out, I did not care how, if he had not discovered [disclosed] that I offered him favour, and he refused it thinking to gain favour, and thereby save himself. . . .

¹ Persons' *Brute Apologie*, etc., i. 4 verso. Knox: II, p. 389.

² The date is generally given as December, 1588; but Stafford's letter bears the date of 1587, and a letter from the nuncio in Paris, dated 14th March, 1588, mentions that Gifford is in prison.

" I would have spared nothing, because his examination and confession may give subject to her Majesty's enemies to procure a scandalous opinion to be conceived of her and her council as they mean to turn a letter or two, and especially one of Phelippes' to him, so as to prove that he was the setter on of the gentlemen who were executed for that enterprise of the Queen of Scots, and then to discover them, and that he was practised to this by you and Phelippes, and they would fain have it, with the Queen's knowledge. 1587

" He has shown himself the most notable treble villain that ever lived, for he has played on all hands in the world ; I would have sent you copies of his answers. . . . I am so much grieved that I rather wish to be dead than alive. . . . He has betrayed me thinking to help himself ; but indeed he has betrayed himself, for they will go near to make it cost him his life, having sent copies to the Cardinal [Como ?] and pressed him to make the Pope write to the King of it, and to use all extremity, and my Lord Paget and his brother, and others that he has touched in his letters, follow it to the utmost of their credit." 1

The matter was not pursued to the extremity of death, but Gifford was kept in prison for the rest of his life : he died there in 1590, and it is said that when near his end, he wrote to Cardinal Allen an account of the injuries he had done the Catholic cause.

When Allen, on the 19th March, wrote to thank the King of Spain for the benefice lately bestowed on him, the news of the Queen of Scotland's death, a month before, had not reached Rome ; and her disinheritance of her son and substitution of Philip as her heir to the throne of England, was as yet only known through her letter to Mendoza two years previously. In this letter of the 19th March, we find the first proof that Allen had grown so entirely out of touch with his countrymen during his twenty-two years' exile, and so absorbed by the 1581

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom. Eliz.*, Addenda, Vol. XXX, p. 223. Had Allen remained at Rheims, it is difficult to believe that with his knowledge of Gilbert Gifford's character, he would not have suspected and discovered his treachery before it was too late. The Queen of England's efforts to obtain Gifford's release were the subject of a letter from Allen to the Bishop of Bergamo, nuncio in France, dated Rome, 22 February, 1588. He says that Elizabeth's request can with difficulty be withstood by the most Christian King, unless the Pope will write to the Archbishop of Paris, or to the nuncio to interpose his authority. *Bellesheim*, p. 278. *Vatican Archives : Francia Varia I*, 31.

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intensity of his desire to free them from the yoke of heresy, as seriously to believe that they would accept Philip II as their rightful monarch through his descent from John of Gaunt, and would depose Elizabeth in his favour. We have it in his own words :—After declaring his long-formed conviction that no one but Philip could effectually raise the Church and State of England from their present miseries, and assuring him that there were very few lovers of piety and their country who did not long to be once more under his sceptre, he proceeds to suggest that nothing should be said at present to the Sovereign Pontiff or anyone else of the King's right to succeed to the English throne. To begin the war on this ground would be alike useless and dangerous—

Knox,
II, p. 272

“The war has two most just causes, approved by divine and human laws and worthy of being declared just by a bull of the Apostolic See. These are to avenge the wrong done to religion and to obtain reparation for injuries received ; the former of which will approve itself to every Catholic, and the latter will not appear devoid of sound probability even to the heretics. . . . Whatever is acquired by a just war is lawfully possessed, and kingdoms are no less justly won by legitimate warfare than they are inherited through propinquity of blood : where, however, both these titles meet, their concurrence is of great avail. . . .

“When God has given victory to your Majesty's arms, your Majesty's relationship to the royal house of Lancaster may be justly and seasonably pleaded in the assembly of the estates called the parliament, where the matter can be most easily managed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the born legate of the Holy See, to whom belongs of right the first vote of the whole realm, and whose lead will be followed by all the bishops and the Catholic nobles, who alone, in consequence of the previous death or dismissal of the heretics, will have votes in that assembly. To the furtherance of which, if I am still living, I will do my utmost endeavour. . . . Nor do I doubt that the Queen of Scotland will co-operate with this, and most earnestly desire it, and that she will prefer your Catholic Majesty to all other non-Catholic competitors, whatever be their claim, and even to her own heretical son. Then the Pope also will spontaneously and willingly approve a right acquired in so many ways, and finally, by God's grace all things will yield to your Majesty's power and justice.”

This letter probably impressed Philip of Spain, with his own bitter knowledge of England and the English, as little more than

the Utopian dream of a zealous churchman, whose chief use ¹⁵⁸⁷ to him at the moment, was as an instrument wherewith to hoodwink the Pope, and gain his co-operation in his own ulterior designs. Of Allen's absolute good faith and entire freedom from personal ambition, neither Philip II nor any one else, of whatever party, ever conceived the faintest doubt.

In forwarding the above letter, Olivares writes in a strain of ^{23rd Mar.} uneasiness: there is a flaw in the King's title to the succession from John of Gaunt, as the house of Farnese claims through an elder line, as may be seen in a pedigree kept in the English College in Rome: the Pope has been approaching the Queen of England through the King of France, taking great pains to induce her to become a convert to the Catholic faith; making her very large offers, though she replied that she had no such wish. Even if his master will content himself simply with the succession of the Infanta Isabel, Olivares is of opinion that it will be desirable to put off for a long time entering upon the subject with his Holiness. Allen and Persons, at the ambassador's request, have drawn up a memorandum relating to the succession. It begins—

"This is what we, William Allen and Robert Persons, have ^{Knox, II, p. 28r 1587} been able to discover touching the descendants of the house of Lancaster, by the study which we have made of this matter here in Rome, since the late news of the death of the Queen of Scotland." ¹

While expressing their wish that Philip II's claim had been "so clear, unentangled, fresh and near, that no possible doubt, contradiction or difficulty could have arisen about it," the two writers commit themselves to a searching inquiry into the claims of the various members of the Houses of York and of Lancaster. They condemn the Bishop of Ross as inaccurate—whereas he was strictly accurate—for maintaining in his book on the right of the Queen of Scotland to the English crown, that the succession from John of Gaunt remained in the line of Portugal, through Philippa, his eldest daughter by his

¹ The news of Mary's death must have only just reached Rome, for Olivares, in the above letter, dated 23rd March, does not mention it as having taken place.

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first wife Blanche.¹ The conclusion they draw from their study of the many ramifications of the geneological tree, is embodied in the advice to the King to cut the question short, by seizing upon the kingdom by right of conquest ; “ for if the succession by way of descent from the house of Lancaster alone be discussed, and talked about generally before the enterprise is completed, much opposition will arise from various princes.”

After setting down eight “ reasons and rights to be taken into account,” including the Queen of Scots’ will, and her letters in Philip’s favour, and that “ Queen Mary also of good memory, is known to have greatly desired in her time that his Catholic Majesty should succeed her,” Allen and Persons do not hesitate to give as the ninth and final reason “ to complete and confirm the whole affair—

“ There will come in addition, the voluntary election and acceptance of his Majesty on the part of the commonwealth of Catholics in England, who, from regard to all these causes and considerations, and chiefly in return for the benefit of the restoration of the Catholic faith, will, with the greatest unanimity and joy embrace his Majesty’s succession, and about this we have no doubt whatever.”

Count Olivares, like the shrewd statesman he was, had already begun to doubt the political acumen of the two zealous churchmen, who now spoke and wrote, and acted as one man, and whose “ teacher, necessity, had taught them to draw from everything ” the proofs of what they wished ; so he wrote to his master, after the news had arrived of the judicial murder of the Queen of Scots, that Allen and Persons tried to make him believe that the death of Mary made no difference.² They even went further, and endeavoured to convince him that it might prove a positive gain, as we see from a paragraph of a letter he wrote to Idiaquez on the 15th June—Allen and Persons, seeing the season so advanced, and having heard from Mendoza in Paris that the death of the Queen of Scots

Knox,
II, p. 292

¹ Philip II was descended from Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt, by his second wife, Constantia, daughter of Pedro the cruel, King of Castille.

² *Simancas Est.*, 949, f. 61.

was a great loss to the enterprise, are doing their best to convince Olivares "that it is not only no loss, but that by her death many difficulties have disappeared, which could only have been removed with great labour while the enterprise was proceeding, and with still greater trouble after our Lord had given it success."

Allen had written to Philip II and to the Pope immediately upon the death of Mary, urging the same reasons for carrying out the expedition without delay; and in his letter to Sixtus V, he takes occasion to praise the conduct of Sir William Stanley, who, on the 29th January, had surrendered Deventer to the Duke of Parma, and had passed over to the service of Philip II with the 1,300 troops under his command.

Nothing is more typical of the confused and intolerable condition of things, brought about by the tortuous policy and conscienceless proceedings prevailing at the time, than that such a man as Sir William Stanley, one of the finest and most honoured soldiers in Europe, should have thought himself not only justified, but bound in conscience to deliver up the town of which he was governor, or that a man like Allen should have defended his action, in public as well as in private.¹

The Earl of Leicester's campaign in the Netherlands had pleased neither Elizabeth, who stoutly objected to his disobedience of her orders, and the regal state he had assumed there, nor the States, who complained that he was no match for the experienced and victorious Farnese, that the campaign had not been answerable to its expense, nor the number of English troops in the field equal to the number stipulated by treaty: they declared that he had ruined their finances,

¹ Sir William Stanley [1534?-1628-9] was the eldest son of Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, in Cheshire, by his first wife Margaret, eldest daughter of Hugh Aldersay, of Chester. As a young man, Stanley served under Alva in that splendid army, whose advance from Italy to Holland created such a sensation in 1567. He served loyally and well in the Irish campaign from 1579 until 1585, when he left the country and joined Leicester's force of auxiliaries in the Dutch provinces, where he so distinguished himself that Leicester described him and "old Reade" as "worth their weight in pearl and as rare captains as any living Prince hath." (See Thos. Heywood: "Defence of Sir William Stanley," *Chetham Society*, 1851.)

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neglected military discipline, and extorted money by arbitrary and illegal expedients. Leicester finally announced his return to England, and proposed to entrust the supreme authority during his absence, to Sir William Stanley, Sir William Pelham, or Sir Roland York. The States claimed the right of appointment, to which Leicester agreed, and resigned the government in a public sitting ; which did not prevent him from reserving it to himself by a private instrument.¹

Stanley had been appointed Governor of Deventer, the capital of Overijssel, and, after Antwerp and Amsterdam, the most important town in the Netherlands. It was, moreover, "a stubborn town," which meant that the burghers would admit neither Leicester nor the States to govern them ; and it was alleged that the former had, by deceit and force, introduced a garrison into the town and usurped its government against the will of the citizens, and with the privity of Sir William Stanley, to whom he gave authority to act independently as governor of the province.

When Leicester hastily left his post and sailed for England, he left a state of chaos behind him, though he had written in November to the Queen "that the world was never so dangerous nor so full of treason, or of treachery, as at this day." He had publicly given back his powers, he had secretly retained them : he had absolved his commanders from obedience to the States, and, in some instances, to their own superior officers. Each man was left to act as his inclination guided him, and while himself unfaithful both to the Queen and the States, "with surpassing credulity," writes Thomas Heywood, "he reckoned upon the complete fidelity of those who served under him."

Appointed governor on the 24th November, 1586, Stanley seems to have lost little time in entering into communication with J. B. de Tassis, the former Spanish ambassador in Paris, and through him with the Duke of Parma. His explanation, as given in the presence of Tassis to the assembled townspeople in the market-place of Deventer, being that he did not hold

¹ Lingard : Vol. VI, p. 198.

the town for the Queen of England, but for the States, whom ¹⁵⁸⁷ he knew in his conscience to be rebels to their king, and that therefore, he felt bound to “render unto Caesar the things that were Caesar’s,” and to deliver up the town to the King of Spain. He added that he had repeatedly asked in vain for the pay for his troops, and produced Leicester’s parchment, absolving him from his oath, and leaving him free to act as he pleased.¹ The whole affair passed in a few minutes and in perfect tranquillity; some of the burghers left the town, some visited Stanley and Tassis, and several of the discharged magistrates “now hopeful of a better state of things,” met together. Stanley’s example was followed by Sir Roland York, Marchant, Peyton and Wingfield, each of whom delivered the town of which he was governor to the Spanish authorities.

Stanley was sent for to Madrid, and, being introduced to the Council of War, urged Philip to make Ireland the basis of his operations in an attack upon England. His reception was not very cordial, and he wrote to Father William Holt, the Jesuit, “letters of great discontentment and signifying that his entertainment was far colder than he expected.” Meanwhile Allen had determined to write his defence, moved thereto by a letter—given as a preface to the book—from R. A. [Roger Ashton], an intimate friend of Sir William Stanley, asking his opinion on a matter touching his own honour and conscience, and that of several of his friends and comrades; and which may serve as a guide to all those who follow the profession of arms and serve in the present war, how to conduct themselves on a similar occasion. The surrender of Deventer is then submitted to Allen’s judgment, R. A. stating that whereas many people consider it a lawful and laudable act, others remain perplexed; while the heretics and their enemies, in

¹ Thomas Heywood gives all the authorities concerning this strange document, which, as he says, is recorded in too many quarters to leave any doubt on the subject; and the existence of which the Earl of Leicester did not deny when Buckhurst received evidence of its contents. Reidenus supposes Leicester may have meant it as a licence to Stanley to act in some possible contingency, when intriguing with the Spaniards or the States.

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England as well as abroad, violently condemn it as treasonable, and call them perjurers, traitors and rebels who approve of it.¹

Allen's book, or rather pamphlet, bears the title : *The Copie of a Letter written by Mr. Doctor Allen : Concerning the Yielding up of the Citie of Daventrie unto his Catholike Majestie, by Sir William Stanley, Knight.*

"Wherein is showed both how lawful, honorable and necessarie that action was : and also that all others, especially those of the English nation, that detain anie townes or other places, in the lowe countries from the King Catholike, are bound . . . to do the like." (*Imprinted at Antwerp by Joachim Troгнаesius, 1587.*)

Allen's reply takes the form of a letter to his "honourable good Sir," R. A., and is dated Rome, 23rd April, 1587. He states that he has already, by his letters to Sir William Stanley, given his opinion, but he will now set down his mind more largely and distinctly. The rendering up of such towns in the Low Countries as be in alien Englishmen's custody is not only lawful, but necessary under pain of sin, for that everything wrongfully obtained, or unjustly detained from their true owners, according to all divine and human laws, ought to be restored to them. Even in lawful wars is that the case, but where the war is wholly and plainly unlawful, and waged without just cause, yea, evidently against right and reason, the obligation is all the greater. After giving Cicero's definition of a just war in his *De Republica*, Allen proceeds—

1. The Queen of England, as all the world knows, can make no just claim to Holland, Zealand, or any other of those parts, which by arms, she has seized on : all those provinces being confessed to be his Catholic Majesty's ancient and undoubtful inheritance. She can have no pretence to invade those countries.

¹ Roger Ashton, with whom Sir William Stanley "conversed most in kindness of love and affection," was, says Thomas Heywood, probably the third son of Richard Ashton of Croxton, Lancashire, by Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Hesketh of Rufford. He was executed at Tyburn on the 23rd June, 1591, "for entertaining missionaries, as also for applying to the See of Rome for a dispensation in a marriage contract. (Dodd : II, p. 154. Thos. Heywood : *Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley.*)

2. The defence of the King's rebels against their most just Lord and Sovereign, is no lawful nor honourable quarrel of wars; neither have the said rebels any authority to yield up their Sovereign's towns and forts into his enemies hands, or themselves to the English protection or subjection.

3. Rebels against their lawful powers be not properly the confederates or *Socii* of any Prince or commonwealth.

4. The King's Majesty hath done to the Queen or her realm, no such injuries, for redress or revenge whereof she should by hostility enter into his dominions and surprise his towns, and castles, and bring his people to subjection—

“It is not the pretence of the Queen's counsel, or realm's public allowing, or permitting these things, that can excuse them before God or man either in conscience or honour. For injustice done by public pretended authoritie, is more shameful than that which is done by private offenders. St. Augustine affirming that *whole kingdoms when they agree upon open injustice are nothing else but a great latronage*, that is, a brotherhood of thieves.” *Lib. 4 Civit Cr. 4.*

Allen then contrasts the “old English honourable wars” with those of that day, when, under the cloak of friendship, for the past thirty years, England has surprised the towns and countries of her friends and confederates—

“As soon as the Scots rebelled against their Queen, the English joined their forces, to the utter ruine and destruction of both her, and her dominion. They rebel against their Kings in France: our English helps and arms were straight ready to succour them, and to seize upon the strong places of the land, in their own, or the rebels' behalf. They rise in the Low Countries, and in other partes of the world . . . and immediately (as though our countrie were ordained to be the buckler of all rebellion, injustice and an enemy of lawful superioritie) the Queen thinketh it honorable, or needful to protect the said rebels, and to assail . . . the oldest, faithfullest and greatest confederate that ever our realm had.”

Having enlarged considerably on the necessity soldiers, as well as their rulers, lie under of not engaging in unjust wars, and on the excommunication of the Queen, Allen commends the action of those who have not only yielded up the places unjustly possessed, but have forsaken the other side: they have done

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agreeably to their Christian knighthood, and performed an act "much renowned in all these parts, of the best, and wisest of all degrees." After contrasting, with numerous examples, lawful and unlawful revolt—according to the justice or injustice of the cause—Allen concludes with saying that some time previously a gentleman and captain of his name, had earnestly conferred with him as to whether it would be practicable to have some companies of English soldiers "trained up in Catholic and old good military discipline," at the same time that the seminaries abroad trained up the clergy: so that when the time came, both could serve their country in their respective callings. "Which thing being honourably begun, by divers noblemen and gentlemen before," Allen trusts that by those to whom he writes, it may be finished "to the universal comfort of us all, and the great good and hope of our nation."¹

It was not to be expected that Sir William Stanley's action, or Dr. Allen's defence of it, should commend themselves to the majority of their Catholic countrymen; and we find by a letter from a Jesuit in England to Father Persons, dated London, 23rd October, and written soon after Allen's book had become known there, what impression it had created. After saying that he had not long since sent an account of the "annual occurrents of this kingdome," the writer continues—

Knox,
II, p. 299

"Since which time there has chanced an extraordinary cause to move me thus to write unto you, a thing likely to breed great division among Catholic gentlemen. The matter is that of late being at M.O. house, there came to see me divers gentlemen, who incontinent after dinner fell into disputation whether a Catholic man might lawfully serve against the Spaniards in the present wars of Flanders. And after discussing to and fro they all concluded unanimously, that the warr of the Low Countries was thought necessary by her Majesty and the Councell in the behalf of our countrie and comfort of our neighbours, and that a good subject ought to look no farther into the matter, and that they fought against Spaniards as being enemies to England, and not as

¹ There are three editions of the above tract. The first, in English, printed hastily at Antwerp in 1587; a second, translated into French, was published in Paris in 1588; and Dodd gives the title of a third in Latin, printed at Cracow in 1588.

Catholicks. Which, when we had all concluded, one of the company ¹⁵⁸⁷ drew forth a little book intituled :—*A copy of a letter written by an English gentleman out of the camp unto Dr. Allen touching the act of rendering the towne of Daventrie and other places unto the Catholic King, and his answer and resolution unto the same.* In which book Mr. Allen, or some other in his name, commendeth the rendering upp of Daventrie and exhorteth others unto the same. Whereupon we fell among ourselves into great altercation ; but in fine most of us resolved that Mr. Allen would never have overshott himself so foully in these times contrary to his former writings and protestations, and that it was not unlike some malicious man to make our cause odious to the world, to have published this book under the name of Mr. Allen, thinking thereby to demonstrate us all traytors to our Prince and country. And therefore they requested me to advertise you thereof, desiring of you therein to be resolved wholly. . . .

“ Therefore, good father, in behalfe of the greatest part of English Catholicks I beseech you that if any simple man (perhaps of zeale) hath set forth this book under the name of Dr. Allen, that speedy order be taken for the mitigating of his indiscreet assertions. In the meantime the chieftest of our Catholicks have by common consent sett forth an answer to the pretended lettre of Dr. Allen, declaring to the whole world they utterly defye the seditious doctrine of his resolution. Which book of the Catholicks herewithal I send you, beseeching Almighty God to blesse you with desired felicity.

“ S. T.” [THOMAS STANNEY ?]

The above letter, and the answer of the Catholic gentlemen enclosed in it, are from transcripts of originals—now no longer in existence—made by Father Christopher Grene, S. J., towards the end of the seventeenth century. The answer “ to a seditious book veiled with the name of Dr. Allen ” is very briefly summarised with a note in the margin : *Tractatus hic impletur 3 vel 4 folia : ideo omittitur ex parte.* Sufficient, however, is left to make it clear that the writers entirely repudiate Allen’s contentions—

“ Even supposing that the detaining of the Low Countries on her Majesty’s part were unjust, doth it follow that Sir William Stanley is bound to restitution ? etc. Secondly you are not ignorant that noe law either divine or human bindeth to restitution when the same cannot be done without detriment of our honour, danger of our life, hazard of friends, etc. Thirdly, her Majesty maketh no title or challenge to these provinces, but only for defence of our

Knox,
II, p. 300

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neighbours and safety of our country detaineth them. Yea, albeit she had taken these provinces into her dominion, neither her Highness (much less any of her private subjects) in these times, is bound to restore them."

If Father Persons deemed it advisable to show the above documents to Dr. Allen, they must have furnished him with food for reflection. It was the first time that a grave difference of opinion had arisen between him and the English Catholics, of whom he was about to be made Cardinal, and whose very affection and reverence impelled them to reject one of his writings as not coming from his pen—as the work of one of his and their enemies. It could not but startle and dismay him, whose every word and writing had hitherto been accepted so eagerly and undoubtingly—as they, indeed, had merited—that a tract of his should be dubbed "a disordered discourse." The references to his own so contrary writings and protestations with regard to the Queen; the loyalty to their sovereign which breathes in every line of the answer; and the significant *in these times* in its last paragraph—denoting clearly enough that the designs of Spain were no secret, and what the attitude of the Catholics would be towards them, might, if he knew of them, have modified his opinion, so often expressed to the Pope and to Philip II, that the Catholics of England would rise as one man to hail Philip as their deliverer.

The whole incident can but increase our regret that Allen should ever have combined with the spiritual warfare, which he so well understood and in which he was so entirely successful, a political campaign of which he understood so little, and the consequences of which might be disastrous.

Meanwhile, the King of Spain was making use of Allen, as of one of his own servants; instructions had been sent to him through Olivares on the 31st March as to what he was to say in answer to the Pope, so as to bring his Holiness round to Philip's views. The Franco-Scottish party were eager to protect and promote the interests of James VI, and were making positive promises on the score of his religion; so Dr. Allen was ordered to assure Sixtus V that the Queen of Scots had been aware of the obstinacy of her son's heresy, and that

there is less hope now than ever of his conversion, "for many ¹⁵⁸⁷ reasons and indications which may be mentioned."

If his Holiness should compel him to be explicit on the question of the succession, Allen is to say that for a long time past "the common opinion of the Catholics has been that the succession devolves upon his Majesty, though up to the present they have not discovered any signs that his Majesty has any such thoughts." They have always held this opinion, but they have also judged it advisable to keep silence on the subject, as it would rouse the opposition of his rivals.

At this very time the Scottish Father Creighton, the Jesuit, who stood for the interests of James VI almost as stoutly as did Persons for those of the King of Spain, arrived in Rome begging that the succour for Scotland promised by Philip might be sent, and taking it for granted that the Pope, after the reduction of England, would secure the succession of James to the throne. "The whim is current among his countrymen in Paris," writes Olivares to Idiaquez on the 10th July, but Allen and Persons have thought it better for the present not to undeceive them, that they "may not excogitate commotions"; so they go on temporizing with them. Knox,
II, p. 294

Memorandum after memorandum was being laid by Olivares before the Pope, urging the elevation of Dr. Allen to the purple, as a first step towards the long talked-of English enterprise. Sixtus V, after maintaining that the proper moment would be when the Spanish fleet was really on the point of sailing, at last gave way, and in a Consistory, held on the 7th August, created Allen Cardinal, to the great satisfaction of the whole Sacred College, as the Acts of the Consistory testify, stating also that the Pope had been moved to tears in speaking of the virtues and merits of the new Cardinal. On the same day Sixtus V wrote with his own hand, in Italian, to the King of Spain, announcing that he had that morning made Allen a Cardinal to satisfy his Majesty— *ibid.*,
p. 297

"And although in proposing him I gave reasons far removed from all suspicion" [the necessity of supplying for the loss of the Queen of Scots] "nevertheless I am told that already it is said in Rome: now they are taking order for the war with England; and

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this supposition is rife everywhere. Therefore, unless your Majesty seizes the moment, you may do still more harm to those poor Christians, for through delay that which you have judged to be good, may turn out to be evil. As for the subsidy for the enterprise, I have given orders that all shall be done immediately as Count Olivares has demanded."

Sixtus V had promised a million crowns, which were only to be paid on the arrival of the Armada in England.

The news of their president's elevation to the purple was received with unmingled delight and satisfaction at the English College at Rheims, which had happily no concern with its political aspect; but when the tidings reached Paris towards the end of the month, the promotion was looked upon as a move in favour of Spain and against the Franco-Scottish party—all the more marked, that Sixtus V had acted in derogation of his own recently-made constitution that no creation of cardinals was to take place except in Advent.¹

Those who also attributed it in a large measure to Jesuit influence at the Court of Spain were not mistaken, for Allen, in writing to Dr. Bailey, vice-president of the college, in reply to his congratulations, says—

Knox,
II, p. 299

"My promotion gives you joy: but whatever pleasure it causes you, so much the more are you who love me bound by gratitude and affection to the whole Society, and especially to our old and singularly good father and principal fellow-labourer; for next under God Father Persons has made me cardinal."

Roman
Transcripts

In Paris the Archbishop of Glasgow went at once to the nuncio, who wrote to Rome, under date 30th August—

"The ambassador of Scotland has been to see me. . . . He was doubtful if he could retain his post now that the King of Scotland is a heretic, but, as his Holiness wishes it, he will remain. The king may still return to the Church, and he treats the Catholics well; the Archbishop intends to serve him faithfully, and first of all to entreat the Pope and the King of France not to allow the King of Spain to deprive him of his right of succession to the throne of England. He has been moved to this by hearing of the sudden creation of Dr. Allen as Cardinal, and the preparation of a great navy by Spain had put him in great suspicion."

¹ The merchants who had taken bets against Allen's promotion were heavy losers. (*Erythraeus*, *Pinacotheca*, p. 93; Knox, I, p. lxxxiv.)

The nuncio merely replied that nobody on earth should more ardently desire the castigation of that wicked Jezebel of England than the King of Scots ; and the moment his letter was deciphered in Rome Sixtus V sent for Olivares, who reported to Philip II that the Pope had shown him the decipher, and told him he had foreseen the murmurs to which Allen's elevation would give rise. Olivares stoutly declared that it had been most beneficial, and that the person who was crying out about it was the English ambassador. The day of Allen's promotion had been a fatal one for his mistress, for the Sluys had been captured on that very date.¹

Allen's title was that of S. Martinus in montibus, and the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Giovanni Gritti, gives a full description to the Doge and Senate of the Consistory, and how all the cardinals had approved, except one or two who had mentioned the Archbishop of Glasgow ; he goes on to say that the King of Spain has given Allen 1,000 ducats of pension in Spain, and an abbey worth 2,000 ducats. The abbey was in Calabria, and the pension was charged on the archbishopric of Palermo.

Venetian Cal.,
No. 568,
8th Aug.

Gritti describes the new Cardinal as a man of great goodness, piety and learning. “He speaks Latin very well, but does not venture on Italian. He is handsome, about forty years of age,”—Allen was fifty-five—“and though not of the noblest blood, is still well-born.” The promotion, “out of season and under no obvious necessity,” he attributes to a desire to please the King of Spain and to show that his recommendation is esteemed. “This unexpected promotion,” he concludes, “has caused incredible loss to the bookmakers of Rome, some of them intend to try and shake off their bets.”

A few days later, the new Cardinal received the hat and the title of “Cardinal of England,” and Gritti paid him a visit of congratulation—

“I assured him of Your Serenity's satisfaction, and of our conviction that the work begun by the late Cardinal of England

ibid.,
15th Aug.

¹ *Spanish Cal.,* Vol. III, No. 171. The important port of Sluys, garrisoned by Englishmen and Hollanders, was taken by the Duke of Parma on the 7th August, 1587.

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[Reginald Pole] would be carried to a successful issue by himself.

"Every one is afraid that this promotion by the Pope will call the attention of the Queen of England to her English Catholics, and will cause her to be crueller than ever to them. Those who imagined that the Pope was to take part in the attack on England now find that there was nothing to warrant such a supposition."

*Venetian
Cal.,
No. 571*

While there was fear in Rome, there was rejoicing at Madrid. The Venetian ambassador there, Jerome Lippomano, reports that Allen's promotion is highly approved. The King desires to make him Legate, and to cause him to sail with the Armada when it goes to England, in order to support and encourage the Catholics of that island, who are very numerous.

Sixtus V, against his better judgment, had hastened Allen's cardinalate in the hope that Philip's attack upon England would be made without delay: but eleven precious months were to be suffered to pass, during which Elizabeth could make every preparation to withstand attack, whilst every courier who went from Rome to Madrid carried fruitless exhortations to the "leaden-footed" king. Distrustful of every one, especially of those whom it was most needful he should trust; seated at his study-table in the Escorial, working like a clerk, he held the threads of all negotiations in his jealous and fast-aging hands, attempting the impossible task of directing every operation in his vast dominions by his unaided, slow and laborious methods. Philip took upon himself the care of every detail, and deprived his officers of all initiative and independence; insisting on pulling the wires from the Escorial—regardless of its distance and inaccessibility from the coast—and controlling all the smallest acts of his subordinates.

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"The glory of God, and the restoration of religion in England," were words perpetually in his mouth and under his pen as his sole motives for the holy enterprise, which for twenty years he had been talking of carrying out—at the entreaty of three successive Popes and of those among the exiles, like Allen and Englefield, who placed their hopes of restoring their country to the faith, in his intervention.

So long, however, as success would have entailed the placing

of Mary Stuart, or her son, upon the throne, he allowed every ¹⁵⁸⁷⁻⁸ opportunity to escape: every argument was met by sanctionious verbiage and plausible reasons for inaction; while he ordered his minister at Rome to make Allen go on begging the Pope, to press him to undertake the enterprise.¹ The moment the Queen of Scots was dead, and the heresy of her son furnished a pretext for declaring him disqualified, although Philip's language continued to be the same, the purpose underlying it had changed, and he prepared in earnest for the crowning effort of his life—the subjugation of the Queen of England. He prepared, after his own manner, marked by the fatal characteristics which were to cast a blight upon the whole vast enterprise.

Meanwhile Cardinal Allen, with the help of Olivares, was employed in drawing up a paper for the King's guidance of "suggestions as to the way of filling up the churches and offices of the King and kingdom of England, if God gives the success which is hoped for from His mercy." There are twenty-^{Knox, II, p. 303}four bishoprics and two archbishoprics. Cardinal Allen will ask for the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and as soon as the enterprise is made public, the Pope will be solicited to confer it upon him. The Pope will also be asked to grant him some form of faculties, empowering him to fill up the sees for the first time with persons acceptable to his Majesty, and he engages not to act against the wishes of the Duke of Parma or such other person as his Majesty may signify.

One of Allen's greatest and oldest friends was Owen Lewes, Archdeacon of Cambray, who had been one of the most strenuous opponents of the transfer of the English College in Rome to the care of the Jesuits. He had been invited to Milan ¹⁵⁸⁸ by St. Charles Borromeo, and had remained there as one of the vicars-general of the diocese from 1580, until the great Saint died in his arms on the 4th November, 1584. Lewis then returned to Rome, and was the chief of the secular clergy and anti-Jesuit party who, with the Scotch under the Bishop of Dunblane, aided the Guisan cardinals in combating the idea

¹ "Philip II to Olivares," 2nd January, 1586: *Simancas Est.*, 354 = 947, f. 10.

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of a purely Spanish domination in England. For this reason, Philip II nominated him Bishop of Cassano in Naples, in February, 1588, and Olivares reports that the new Bishop, who had just shown him letters from the Bishop of Ross and others respecting the conversion of the King of Scots, had been told by the Pope, who thought he would be useful in Rome, not to go to his diocese, as Olivares had directed him to do in the King's name. The ambassador continues—

*Spanish
Cal.,
Vol. III,
No. 224*

"As I judged that your Majesty's intention in giving him the bishopric was rather to get rid of him. . . . I told the Pope that I had orders from your Majesty to send the Bishop to his diocese. . . . The Pope thereupon promised to send him thither. Allen says the Bishop causes him no end of trouble, because, although he is a man of good life, his ambition and want of tact are terrible."

Knox,
II, p. 112

Allen had long deplored his friend's antagonism to the Jesuits; he had written to Agazzari in 1582 how earnestly he wished that Lewis were "solidly reconciled to the Seminary and the Jesuits," adding, "I know his virtues and his weak points; he can be of much service, and do much harm either way." Owen Lewis's friends had suggested that it would be well to make him Archbishop of York, in the event of the success of Philip's enterprise. Under the circumstances Allen could but oppose it, so we find by the above memorandum that he would prefer Thomas Metham, a priest at that moment in prison in England, and who had suffered much for the faith, or John Wilson, a priest going secretly about England, employed in the work of those who had been martyred.¹ As for the Bishop of Cassano, Allen thinks it advisable "considering his turn of mind," his opposition to Allen, and the favour he enjoys with many cardinals "not to leave him behind in Italy, for fear he should come to Rome to countermine and form new intrigues, as he has begun to do"; but, as he is a Welshman, to give him the best bishopric in Wales, St. David's, or

1588

¹ There appears to have been no John Wilson. Thomas Wilson came to Douay, in 1569, to live in the college at his own charges, and he is mentioned as "a grave and reverend priest," who, in 1580, proposed to Father Persons that the Jesuits should leave England again until a calmer time. (*Stonyhurst MSS.*, p. 410; Knox, II, p. 303.)

else Hereford or Worcester, which are on the borders of Wales ¹⁵⁸⁸
“with some occupation to keep him in play, at a distance from
both London and Rome.”

After considering the ecclesiastical appointments, the memorandum turns to the great offices of State. The first is the High Chancellorship, which Cardinal Allen proposes to hold until some fit person is found. Another great officer is the Grand Marshall, who has charge of all the prisons in the kingdom and appoints their governors. This office was held by the Duke of Norfolk when he was executed. His son [the Earl of Arundel] is in prison, and seems to have a right to it, if he should be alive and have the requisite qualities.

Allen shows himself in advance of his age when he recommends the abolition of the office of Master of the Court of Wards, which was open to many abuses. “It would be a most glorious way for a new prince to solemnize his entry, if he were to abolish this evil tax, or even commute it.”¹

“The High Admiral has under him all the naval forces and vessels; and the wrecks in all England belong to him; he has officers at every port, and a great salary, besides what he very commonly makes by keeping fewer men in the ships than the number for which he receives pay.”

The office of High Steward of the Household is a very great one, with extensive jurisdiction and great pre-eminences; on which account it is ordinarily given for a limited period; once in the time of the present Queen for only three or four months “so as not to confer on any one such great influence and authority.” The High Chamberlain, besides having to serve the King’s person and superintend the offices of the chamber, “has jurisdiction over, and is charged with the custody of the woods and forests, parks, lakes, hunting and fishing with extensive jurisdiction and dues.

The Grand Master of the Stable has charge of the horses with their stabling and breeding arrangements.”

¹ The office had been held by Sir Francis Englefield under Mary Tudor. In 1610 the Earl of Salisbury nearly succeeded in obtaining its suppression, and it was finally abolished in the first Parliament of Charles II in 1660.

1588

Except in the case of the Earl of Arundel, Cardinal Allen makes no suggestion as to the persons to be appointed to the above great offices.

Meanwhile the stars in their courses seemed to be fighting against Philip of Spain; whilst he, with a cold stubborn obstinacy which had taken the place of all his former vacillation and hesitancy, neglected every portent and turned a deaf ear to every warning, even from the highest and most competent of judges. The great Alvarez de Bazan, Marquis of Santa Cruz, perhaps the greatest seaman of his day, had, after his victory over Don Antonio in August, 1583, implored the King's permission to lead his squadrons, flushed with victory and ready for more fighting, against England¹—

"Your Majesty is now well prepared, and with an army so victorious that I supplicate you not to miss this chance; for believe me, Sire, I would make you King of England, and of other realms as well, whence you might with confidence hope to subdue Flanders."

Mary Stuart was then alive, and those were the days of Philip's doubts and hesitation, so his answer to the great Admiral was of the usual kind—the time was not ripe, he could not speak on the matter just yet, but he would hasten the building of galleons.² Now that Santa Cruz was in his seventy-eighth year, the King found that the time had at last arrived, and he appointed him commander of the Invincible Armada.

It was too late; Santa Cruz died at Lisbon while superintending and striving to hasten the languid preparations ordered by the King. The Bishop of Novara, nuncio in Spain, had joyfully announced his appointment in October, 1567; and had to record his death four months later, adding that the Count of Fuentes, whom he described as an excellent commander, was to replace him. But Spanish etiquette went

Roman
Transcripts,
18th Feb.

¹ Alvarez de Bazan, Marquis of Santa Cruz [1510–1586]. General of the Galleys under Charles V, he distinguished himself repeatedly under that reign, and conveyed Philip to England, in 1554, for his marriage with Mary. He was made Admiral of Spain in 1565; he saved Malta from the Turks, and commanded at Lepanto under Don John of Austria.

² Martin Hume: *Two English Queens and Philip*, pp. 420, 421.

before merit, however great ; the Spanish hidalgos could not ¹⁵⁸⁸ be expected to serve under a man of lesser rank than themselves, and the poor-spirited, effete and sickly Duke of Medina-Sidonia, possessor of one of the greatest names and fortunes in Europe, was appointed Captain-General of the Invincible Armada ; despite his piteous appeals to Philip to spare him, on the score that he was utterly inexperienced in practical warfare, that he knew nothing of navigation, and was always sea-sick as soon as he lost sight of the shore.¹

As Martin Hume points out, there were at Philip's orders half-a-score as splendid sailors as ever ploughed the seas, such as Oquendo, Bertondona, and Recalde, but the supreme command could not be given to them, because their rank was not sufficiently exalted.

Such as they might shake their heads at the appointment, but the King, infatuated by his own obstinacy, paying no heed to Sidonia's own confessions of incompetency, or to the Duke of Parma's urgent advice to accept Elizabeth's overtures of peace, persisted in entrusting to hands as unwilling and timorous as they were incapable, the striking of the supreme blow which was to decide the supremacy of Spain or England on the seas, and to wipe out the long score he held against Elizabeth.

The letters of the Bishop of Novara, nuncio at Madrid, are full of interest, telling first of the sad delays and want of preparation ; then, on the 4th of June, of the departure—at last—from Corunna of the stately fleet of 300 sail. By that

Roman
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¹ Medina-Sidonia, seventh duke [1550-1615]. Don Alonzo de Guzman el Bueno, son of Don Juan Claros de Guzman, sixth duke, and of his wife Doña Leonor Manrique de Zuñingay Sotomayor Don Alonzo succeeded his father at the age of five, and became master of one of the greatest fortunes in Europe. The family was supposed to hail originally from Britain, and first appear in Spain in the tenth century, where they grew great by the re-conquest of the country from the Mahommedans. In 1581 the duke was created knight of the Golden Fleece, and named Captain-General of Lombardy ; but by pressing supplications got himself exempted, on the plea of poverty and bad health. His incompetency brought upon him the open contempt of the whole nation, and he was held up to ridicule by Cervantes in a sonnet.

1558

Roman
Transcripts,
17th June

time the Spanish ambassador in Paris had received orders to send all English pensioners of Philip into Flanders, to place themselves under the command of the Duke of Parma, and the nuncio there announces that they are all gone, including Thomas Morgan. Then comes the news of the great storm, which has caught the fleet, and scattered it like chaff; and Novara sorrowfully writes to Cardinal Montalto—

“ This bad news of the Armada has caused great disturbance, for it seems as if Almighty God disapproved of the enterprise : that at such a time of year, when the weather is generally so fine, such a tempest should have arisen, dispersing the ships in various parts. It is to be hoped they may reach the different harbours of Galicia and Biscay. The King is more determined than ever to go on.”

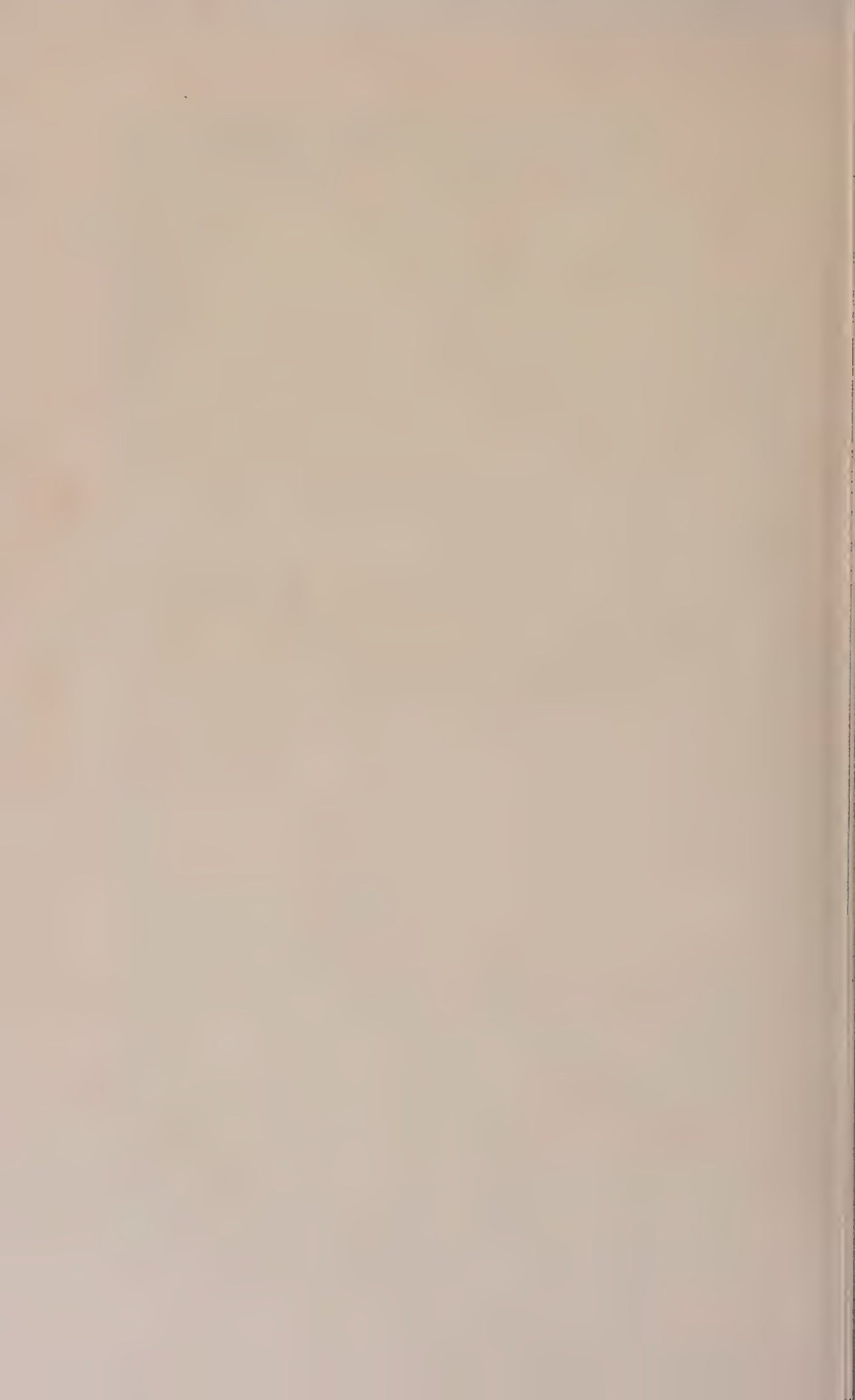
ibid.,
6th July

Medina-Sidonia, after this first catastrophe, again implored Philip to abandon so ill-starred an enterprise, but the answer was a stern command to re-assemble his ships and start again ; and the nuncio's next letter shows us the King—as if intent to bend heaven to his will—kneeling immovable, every day for four hours at a time in his chapel, without a cushion, and his hands clasped. “ His son serves the Mass the King attends.”

ibid.,
11th July



ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF PARMA



CHAPTER XIV

THE Duke of Parma, the most valorous and experienced ¹⁵⁸⁸ captain in Europe, had urged upon Philip II, as earnestly as had the pusillanimous Medina-Sidonia, the terrible hazards of a naval attack upon England. He had written in March, ^{Spanish Cal., IV} as had Mendoza the previous December, to their stubborn king, laying before him how the divulgation—through the long delay—of all his plans to the English, had altered the state of affairs, pointing out the fatal consequences of defeat, and the joy with which an honourable peace—which Elizabeth was now only too eager to agree to—would be hailed by all concerned. Finding his advice unheeded, the great Farnese prepared to obey orders. He was perfectly loyal to Philip, although he doubtless felt hurt that the prior claims of his children through their mother, a princess of Portugal, to that descent from John of Gaunt, on which the King based his own title to the crown of England, should have been entirely overlooked and ignored. He accordingly wrote to Philip on ^{ibid., No. 292} the 13th May, that he would take due care his Majesty's orders should be obeyed about spreading the rumour, on the arrival of the expedition in England, that its sole object was the reform of religion, and that Cardinal Allen was coming with Apostolic authority to absolve them and settle matters of religion. The Duke had apparently been making his own inquiries, for he drily adds—"It is evident that the majority of the Catholics in England are not so entirely mortified as to be free from their humours—"

"The Count of Olivares has sent me from Rome a discourse and declaration drawn up in English by Allen, with the object referred to, in order that it might be printed and spread over England at the time of invasion. It shall first be translated, so that we may see whether there is anything to suppress or add to it, and it shall then be printed in the form of a short proclamation, containing the principal heads of the discourse, as Allen himself agrees. I have no doubt that Allen's aid, both in the important religious

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question, and in other political affairs, will be extremely advantageous, seeing his great influence among the Catholics, and his goodness, efficiency and learning."

Nowhere do we find diplomatic despatches so lively and graphic as those of the Venetian ambassadors; and Giovanni Gritti's are no exception to the rule. On the 12th March he reported to the Doge and Senate that the Pope had asked him if he had any news from Constantinople. On replying "No," his Holiness then said—

*Venetian
Cal., III,
No. 640*

"We hear that the Turk is preparing a great fleet, and that the Queen of England is urging him to send it out; for this she promises him 300,000 ducats." He added, "She is a great woman, and were she only Catholic she would be without her match, and we would esteem her most highly. She omits nothing in the government of her kingdom; and is now endeavouring, by way of Constantinople, to divert the King of Spain from his enterprise.

"The King has prepared his Armada, it is true; but he is so slow in resolution that we have no idea when he will carry his project into effect. . . . We do not know what the issue will be."

A week later, Gritti writes again—

*ibid.,
No. 642*

"The Pope said he had news from Spain that the Armada was ready. But the English, too, are ready." "She certainly is a great Queen," he said, "and were she only a Catholic, she would be our dearly beloved. Just look how well she governs; she is only a woman, only mistress of half an island, and yet she makes herself feared by Spain, by France, by all. She enriches her kingdom by Spanish booty, besides stripping Spain of Holland and Zealand."

Time passed, and no news reached Rome of the Armada. The Pope showed both pain and surprise, wrote Gritti, on the 9th of July, "that we have no news of the Armada; it is forty days since it sailed from Lisbon.

"He told me," adds the ambassador, "that Drake was in the Channel to prevent a union of the Spanish forces—

*ibid.,
No. 686*

"His Holiness laid much store on the pluck and the good luck of Drake. 'The King of Spain,' said his Holiness, 'should have listened to our advice last September, when we entered into alliance; we then told him that he should not delay, but deliver the attack at once, as the Queen was unprepared and unarmed, instead of allowing her time to arm as she has done. At that moment he might

have achieved with small forces that which, perhaps, he will not be able to effect now with large forces.

“ ‘ But the King of Spain is old, and it is no longer a question of being able to change his nature, and we must put up with him as he is—*bisogna che se lo tenghiamo quale egli sia*. His friends complain that we love not the King of Spain when we talk like this, but it seems to us that we cannot give a greater sign of affection than by advising him, and speaking our mind freely.’ ”

On the same date Gritti reports that Cardinal Allen, who had withdrawn from Rome to a neighbouring village on account of the malaria, was returning that day, so as to be ready to go to England should occasion require it. In a previous letter of his, dated 2nd July, we find an interesting confirmation of the report of Olivares to Philip II, that the Pope had approached Queen Elizabeth through the King of France—

*Venetian
Cal., III,
No. 679*

“ When news of the departure of the Armada arrived, the Pope said to several Cardinals, who were at audience, that he had done all he could to persuade the Queen to return to the Catholic Church ; offering to grant her a new investiture of her kingdom in spite of the deprivation pronounced by Pius V, and to give her the bishops she might approve ; to which the Queen had replied that the Pope would do well to give her some of his money. A league with Spain was accordingly concluded ; and this league will be published in consistory.”

Once again, before the news of disaster had come to confirm men's fears, Gritti reports an audience with Sixtus V—20th August—when the Pope had remarked—

“ The King goes trifling with this Armada of his, but the Queen acts in earnest. Were she only a Catholic, she would be our best-beloved, for she is of great worth. Just look at Drake : who is he ? what forces has he ? And yet he burned twenty-five of the King's ships at Gibraltar, and as many again at Lisbon, he has robbed the flotilla and sacked San Domingo. His reputation is so great that his countrymen flock to share his booty. We are sorry to say it, but we have a poor opinion of this Spanish Armada, and fear some disaster. The King should have sailed when we told him, in September of last year. Rapidity is of prime importance ; what can the King do ? He has no money, and has borrowed 300,000 ducats from Mantua and 200,000 from the Archbishop of Toledo, 20,000 of his troops have been lost through this delay, some dead, some killed.”

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If ever the Pope spoke in the above terms of Queen Elizabeth to Cardinal Allen, he must have been heard with surprise, and something approaching dismay. To Allen, as to the majority of the exiles, the Queen appeared solely as the wicked Jezebel, who persecuted the Church and slaughtered the priests of God, and for whom no punishment could be too severe. They did not regard the great qualities of statesmanship and government which appealed to Sixtus V, himself one of the first politicians of his age, and who was wearied and disheartened by the conduct of Philip II. They did not know, when they fondly believed and unhesitatingly asserted that two-thirds of their countrymen were ready to rise and dispossess her of her crown, or that the whole nation would willingly accept Philip or his daughter as their sovereign in her stead, how great a hold she had obtained, in thirty years of successful rule, upon her subjects, even those upon whom her hand weighed most heavily. She might not appeal to their noblest instincts, but no monarch ever knew better how to instil into all men, from the highest to the lowest, the salutary mixture of admiration, affection and dread which constituted their unhesitating loyalty.

A virgin queen, inasmuch as she admitted none to share the dazzling height of her sole sovereignty, and yet a princess whose gallantries were the talk of Europe; with her unscrutable smile and enigmatical speech, behind which so often lurked the menace of death—deep as a well, and yet at times apparently swayed by womanly fears and whims like a wind-tossed flower, Elizabeth was a match in diplomacy and intrigue with the wildest statesmen in Christendom, while often reducing her ministers to despair by postponements, and changes and delays, which sometimes concealed plans deeper and more subtle than their own.

No monarch, no woman in all time better understood every art of pomp and display, wherewith to dazzle the eyes of men; the apparel and the panoply of gems that decked her like an Eastern idol more than a being of flesh and blood, were unapproachable in luxury and fabulous extravagance; while the genius of her poets, the enterprise of her merchants, the valour

of her adventurous captains rose like a cloud of incense at her feet, enhancing the mysteriousness and the awe of her extraordinary personality. And there was hardly a man among her subjects who could not quote some trait of her wit and learning, some sharp saying, or startling epigram or repartee, or even the round oaths that dropped from the lips of Harry Tudor's daughter.

While the King of Spain was preparing to dislodge Elizabeth from her secure estate, Cardinal Allen and Father Persons were busy with their pens to aid him in the attempt. Allen's last work, the *Defence of Sir William Stanley*, had naturally so irritated the Queen and her government, that a warning was sent from London to Allen and Stanley by their friends, to take care they were not poisoned, as measures were being taken to that effect.¹ And Dr. Valentine Dale, English peace commissioner in Flanders, called upon the Duke of Parma at Bruges, to complain of Cardinal Allen's book. In reporting the matter to King Philip on the 25th July, Parma writes—

"I excused it as well as I could by saying that I did not understand the language, nor was I acquainted with the secret information which might justify his [Allen's] statements. If there is any ground for these, it must have originated with the English themselves, who worked through Allen."

Spanish Cal., IV,
No. 351

The tract which was to aid in the subversion of the Queen of England was the *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland*, a work described by Dr. Lingard as "perhaps the most virulent libel ever written," and which he would give anything to be able to prove a forgery.²

That it was penned by Father Persons there seems very little doubt; the style is his, whereas it is absolutely unlike anything that Allen had ever written; and Persons himself, whilst twice noticing the charge made by the secular priests that the book was "penned altogether by the advice of Father

¹ *Spanish Cal.*, Vol. IV, No. 244. (*Advices from London*: Paris Archives: K., 1567.)

² Haile and Bonney: *Life of John Lingard*, pp. 198, 199. "Lingard to Gradwell," 1822.

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Persons," seems by his evasions to acknowledge its truth.¹ It is not given in Knox's careful and complete account of Allen's works, and, as Dr. Gradwell in Rome, states in reply to Lingard's inquiries, Ciaconius, who wrote with great study and knowledge of the subject, declared that all Allen's works, on account of their utility, had been translated into Latin, but the *Admonition* was not among them.

The document is signed "The Cardinal," which at no time was the style used in Rome, and is dated from the "Palace of St. Peter, 28th April, 1588." If the Vatican was meant, that palace was never so called, wrote Dr. Gradwell, as "the *Bullarium* shows." Nor is there any proof that Allen lived there at that time, as he was not made *Bibliothecarius Apostolicus* until after the death of Cardinal Antonio Caraffa in 1591.

These puzzling circumstances all tended to confirm Dr. Lingard's belief, that the *Admonition* was the work of some of the English exiles in Spain who, in their ignorance, had borrowed the style of Spanish kings—"Yo, el Rey"—I, the King.

Dom. Est.,
Vol. CCXX,
n. 17

Unfortunately for this theory, we have the signature "The Cardinal" to an undoubted holograph letter of Allen, written in 1590 to Lord Paget, and now at the Record Office. Moreover, later discoveries afford abundant evidence that, at the time, it was believed to be Allen's, whosoever's pen had actually written it. In the above quoted letter of the 13th May from the Duke of Parma,² he acknowledges the receipt from Olivares of the "discourse and declaration" by Allen, and says he will have it printed in the form agreed upon with Allen himself. And on the previous 2nd April, there is a letter from Olivares to the Duke, directing him to have Allen's paper printed; and adding that as soon as the latter hears of the arrival in England, he will start from Rome.³ Two days

¹ Persons' *Manifestation*, pp. 35, 47.

² See p. 307.

³ *Simancas Est.*, 950, f. not numbered. Taunton's supposition, in his *Jesuits in England*, p. 120, that Olivares refers to the *Admonition* in his letter of 24th February, 1586, saying he is sending a summary of a work Allen has just written—is a mistake. The work in question is evidently Sanders' *de Schismate Anglicano*, which Father Person

later, the ambassador reported to Philip, that he had written ¹⁵⁸⁸ to the Duke of Parma, "sending him the papers written by Allen." Spanish Cal., Vol. IV, No. 256

Father Persons' strong, overwhelmingly insistent and energetic character, with its persuasive force almost capable of moving mountains, and which seemed absolutely incapable of accepting defeat, or any doubt as to the excellence or expediency of his own methods, seems by now to have obtained an absolute ascendancy, in all political concerns, over his friend. Olivares notes it more than once: not only does he give all information as coming from "Allen and Melino or Roberto" [Persons], but on one occasion he informs Philip II, 27th June, 1588, that "Roberto, who is more lively and speculative—*mas vivo y speculativo* than Allen, and has him well in hand—*tien gran mano con el*," has been entering into the question of the future King [of England] with him [Olivares].¹ And again, at a later date, the ambassador describes Persons as possessing great fertility of resource and very good discretion, adding that the Cardinal also is "very judicious, although he cannot well cope with the lies and trickery here, his own methods being very different."

The *Admonition*, and a summary of its contents in the shape of a broadsheet, was, with great secrecy, printed at Antwerp, as it was only to be published after the arrival of the Armada in England. Needless to say, the secrecy did not prevent it soon coming into the hands of Lord Burghley, who wrote "from his cabin"—for he was inspecting the naval preparations—to Sir Francis Walsingham on the 15th June, that he

Spanish Cal., IV, No. 455

Dom. Eliz., Vol. CCXI, p. 488

was then editing, and which was printed in Rome in 1586-7. The ambassador mistook it for Allen's own, and adds that he and Persons "are inclined to add at the end a few pages in reply to the manifesto of the Queen of England against your Majesty" (Knox, II, p. 253). As Allen is not known to have written anything between his answer to Lord Burghley, published in 1584, and his defence of Sir William Stanley in 1587, it is satisfactory to have the point made clear in a letter from Persons himself to Idiaquez, dated Rome, 29th May, 1586, saying he sends the book *De Schismate* where, towards the end, Idiaquez "will find a defence of his Majesty" (*Simancas Legato*, 947, f. 8).

¹ *Simancas Est.*, 950, f. 105.

was sending him a vile book, written by a cardinal in favour of the invasion. He recommends that it be suppressed under pain of treason, and that an answer be written, as from the Catholics of England. The Cardinal is deceived if he thinks that any nobleman or gentleman of possessions will favour the invasion of the realm. "The Cardinal's book may give cause of danger to all Catholics and recusants."

Dom. Eliz.,
Vol. CCXI,
No. 490

Four days later Walsingham answers that he has received the letter, and has sent it to her Majesty. On the 24th Burghley writes again to announce the receipt of a copy of the broadsheet, which he stigmatises as a "roaring hellish bull, of which 12,000 copies have been printed at Antwerp."¹ He encloses a draft of a declaration by the Queen—which is endorsed "not published"—setting forth to her faithful subjects the designs of the King of Spain against England, her own endeavours to preserve peace with the Duke of Parma, and, alluding to the publication of Cardinal Allen's book, says that "although but a blast or puff of a beggarly scholar and traitor [it] was intended as a traitorous trumpet, to wake up all robbers and Catholics in England against their sovereign."

Walsingham, in telling Burghley that he had sent his letter to the Queen, makes no mention of the book. It may be wondered whether either of the two ministers dared to send such an outspoken work to their sovereign, in which she was styled "the very shame of her sex and princely name. . . . the poison, calamity and destruction of our noble Church and country"; but if, as is probable, the Queen insisted upon seeing it, it is impossible not to echo Dr. Lingard's words in his letter on the subject to his friend Dr. Gradwell:—"After such a publication, I am not surprised at anything Elizabeth might do against the Catholics."

Our wonder may sadly extend to the strange lack of caution, the heedlessness as to the effect such a fireball might produce

¹ (f. 319). The *Admonition* would almost certainly be printed or supervised through the press by Richard Verstegan, the exiled antiquary, poet, and printer, who was Persons' chief agent at Antwerp for smuggling literature into England.

in the ranks of the unhappy and sorely-tried Catholics, displayed by Allen and Persons in trusting to the fidelity of the printers and numerous other persons, to whom the secret was perforce confided. The complete success of the Spanish invasion was the only contingency which they seem to have allowed themselves to contemplate; and no thought of what defeat might entail would appear to have crossed their minds. After the defeat, orders were given for the destruction of all the copies of the book and broadsheet; orders which were very exactly executed, for hardly a copy escaped; but the effects produced by the reputation of so violent an invective could not but be dire and far-reaching.¹

As so frequently happens, rumours of a Spanish victory reached Rome—and found the Pope incredulous—long before the true accounts arrived. Giovanni Gritti reports to the Doge and Senate on the 27th August that the Spanish ambassador had announced to the Pope, as coming from Rouen, that the Armada had fought and sunk fifteen English ships, including the flag-ship, without suffering any loss, except the burning of one vessel. Gritti accordingly went to congratulate his Holiness, who told him he did not give full credence to the news, and desired further verification. Even if true, the victory was not very great, for the body of Drake's fleet had escaped. "Unless the Duke of Parma and the Duke of Medina effected a junction, nothing else mattered much."

*Venetian
Cal., III,
No. 721*

*ibid.,
No. 724*

*Dom. Eliz.,
Vol. CCXII,
p. 505*

What Lord Henry Somerset, writing from the Downs on the 18th July, called "the most outrageous storm" he had ever seen—and "no difference between summer and winter

¹ A MS. translation into Spanish of the *Admonition*, considerably summarised by Thomas Fitzherbert, is in the British Museum, with the title, *El libro del Cardinal Allen sobre las cosas de Inglaterra*. (Egerton MSS., 2048-1.) In 1842 the work was reprinted in London, with a preface by Eupater [Rev. J. Mendham], in which he notices the unanimous silence preserved by Pollini, Yepes, More, and other contemporary historians with regard to it; and quotes Dodd's assertion that it was a "nameless pamphlet," the authorship of which was attributed to Allen by his enemies, "who caught at all opportunities to blast his reputation." Lingard, in an appendix to his history of the reign of Elizabeth, gives a summary of the *Admonition* and *Declaration*. (See Appendix H.)

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except the days were longer"—had meanwhile played havoc with the Invincible Armada; disaster followed disaster to the great galleasses with their lofty prows and turrets, before they came in contact with the enemy. And then ensued the week's running fight up the Channel, and the one hopeless battle at bay on the 8th August, which sent the shattered remnants of the mighty fleet to perish on the shores of Ireland and Scotland:—the first irreparable blow had been struck at the fabled prestige and power of Spain and her king.

Roman
Transcripts

Another fable had also been destroyed: the Catholics of England had, indeed, risen, but they had risen with one accord to repel the invaders from their shores, to rally round the throne. The first authentic tidings of the loss of the Armada which reached Paris and were forwarded by the nuncio to Cardinal Montalto on the 17th August, state that the English Catholics offered themselves, entreating that they might be received into the Queen's service, and furnishing all necessaries for horse and foot at their own expense—

"And a thing to be remarked (as her Majesty was always assured of the fidelity of her subjects) they have all shown themselves more devoted to her than could have been expected; there not being one man, Catholic or other, who does not offer to employ his life and goods in her service."

Venetian
Cal., III,
No. 719

Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador in Paris, received the same account, which he reported to the Doge and Senate a few days later:—"The Catholics of the country offer to serve and show great devotion to her Majesty."

The instinct of patriotism was as strong in the Catholic breast as in any other; the horror of submission to a foreign foe especially among those, and they were numerous, who had any inkling of Philip II's ulterior motives, helped them to forget their own bitter grievances against Elizabeth and her Government. Burghley had judged rightly when telling Walsingham that Cardinal Allen was deceived, if he thought any nobleman or gentleman with possessions would favour an invasion of the realm; and the uncertainty of the issue doubtless helped many to prefer the ills they knew, to those at which they could only guess. Persecution was to be struggled

against, evaded, or grimly endured in hopes of a better day ; but a Spanish domination was not a means of succour, which commended itself to English Catholics. So, forgetting, as Dodd reminds us, the cruelty with which they had been treated ; with the memory of all they had endured and were still enduring, with the rack and the gibbet to reward their patriotism, they generously flung aside the recollection of the past and the resentment of the present, and flew to the assistance of their country in her hour of danger.¹

It might have been expected that conduct such as this would have obtained some mitigation, at least, of the penal code. But, unfortunately, as Dodd again reminds us, the spirit of intolerance knows no gratitude, and, for fourteen years, the term which was to elapse before the death of the Queen, the Catholics continued to writhe under one unceasing and relentless persecution. A new element of hatred, indeed, had sprung up in the minds of their Protestant countrymen, born of the fears and anguish of expected invasion ostensibly on their behalf, and added its influence to the change which was gradually but surely passing over the nature of the people ; making their country lose its right to the title of "Merry England"—a loss which was to become complete under the Puritan domination sixty years later.

With true Spanish haughtiness, the defeat of the Armada was regarded as an unfortunate incident, to be retrieved the following year, and Olivares—still clinging to the hope that the Armada might have effected something by way of Scotland—wrote to his master on the 3rd October, before the completeness of the disaster was known, as to the advisability of sending Cardinal Allen into Flanders, so that he might be nearer England. Allen wishes it himself, in order to be of better service to the King : he will be at hand to push forward negotiations in England, and to give trustworthy information to his Majesty. The ambassador then gives an account of

¹ Tierney's *Dodd : Church History*. "In that agony of the Protestant faith and English name," says Hallam, "they stood the trial of their spirits, without swerving from their allegiance" (*Constitutional History*, I, 219).

1588 the Cardinal's circumstances—very different from the wealth and splendour in which, according to the English spies, he now lived—

Knox,
II, p. 306

“ I have given him 3,000 crowns for the journey and the things he needs for it, as he has no money, not having made any, or committed any irregularity ; and though he has lived in much poverty since he became Cardinal, he finds himself with 2,500 crowns of debts, the concurrent causes of which are the scarcity here, the loss in exchanging money and the fact that no one has given him anything, since he does not fill any of the offices which others turn to their account, nor does he seek after those means of which men who have not his regard for propriety avail themselves. . . . He has assigned for the payment of his debts what is now due, and what will become due between this and the coming feast of St. John, from his pension, and from the abbey which your Majesty gave him, and which is worth much less than what was supposed.”

Olivares goes on to suggest that Philip II might bestow upon Allen the vacant Church of St. Omer, which would help him to live in Flanders, where he is well known and beloved.

While the ambassador importuned the Pope with arguments of the necessity that Allen should go, and Father Persons with him, Sixtus V thought differently : his sounder judgment better understood the inexpediency of the step, and the certain ill-effects of sending Allen nearer to England at such a moment of defeat on the one side, and exasperation on the other. Wearied at last with the hectoring pertinacity of Olivares, he gave a reluctant consent to Allen's departure ; but when the latter went to thank him—

Knox,
II, p. 309

“ The Pope treated him like a blackamoor,” wrote Olivares, “ and exhibited great annoyance at his going, which he signified was not with his good-will until decisive intelligence of the result (of the Armada) was received, and the certainty of the convenience of his stay there. He used the hardest possible terms to him ; and the next day, when Caraffa was with the Pope, the latter introduced the subject again in almost similar terms.”

Under these circumstances the Spanish ambassador thought it wiser to yield—and doubtless the Cardinal declined altogether to avail himself of a half-hearted permission—for Olivares goes on to say that if Allen does not go, Persons will go instead—

“ Such being Allen's desire, for he has more authority and

practical ability than any of the others who are there, as I have already mentioned to your Majesty; and I am sending Don Juan de Idiaquez a copy of the cipher which they will use with me, that they may write to him in it and arrange the way of sending letters." 1588

Here again Olivares was to meet with disappointment: the Jesuit authorities appear to have been of like mind with the Pope; and fuller details of the Armada's destruction having no doubt reached Rome, Father Persons wrote to Madrid on the 29th October, to say that the Society would not give him leave to go.¹

It is a relief to turn from the contemplation of the political "Allen and Persons" to Allen alone—the wise and prudent administrator in the affairs of his office, the leader, likened to Moses, in the spiritual order of all who came within his influence and jurisdiction. He still continued to rule the English College at Rheims through its vice-president, Dr. Thomas Bailey, in virtue of a brief dated 29th October, 1587, from Sixtus V giving him full jurisdiction over the college. He doubtless hoped that the time was drawing near when the necessity for English seminaries over seas would cease; but after the loss of the Armada, and also because, deprived of his presence, the students began to show signs of disquiet, he determined to appoint a resident superior. His choice fell upon Dr. Richard Barret, who had for some years filled the important post of superintendent of studies at the college. 1588-9
Accordingly, by an instrument dated Rome, 31st October, 1588, after mentioning various complaints which had reached him of scandals and defects against college discipline, he nominated by apostolic authority Dr. Richard Barret president of the seminary, and commanded all to obey him, and assist him in the reformation of discipline and manners. Knox,
II, p. 310

The choice was not altogether a happy one; Barret is described by Fitzherbert as a very worthy man, but a little too severe and hot-tempered—

Vid. Alani,
p. 91

"This impetuosity, till then latent, showed itself more freely when he was raised to command (for moderation and self-control

¹ *Simancas Est.*, 950, f. 226.

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are rare qualities in those who govern) and he thereby gave offence to many of the scholars, and roused such commotions that Allen was hardly able by many letters, reproofs and punishments to restore peace, notwithstanding his great influence with the students and the love and reverence which they bore him."

Knox,
I, p. 221

Barret's appointment was officially announced to the assembled college by Dr. Bailey, the vice-president, on the 28th November, and was received with the greatest unanimity and applause. His subsequent mistakes as a president were no doubt great, but he suffered the serious disadvantage of being successor to a man of such exalted merit as Cardinal Allen.¹

ibid.,
p. 222

Dr. Bailey soon afterwards resigned the offices of vice-president and superintendent of the temporal economy of the college, and was succeeded, 27th January, 1589, by Dr. Thomas Worthington, who had been recalled for this purpose by the president from the camp, where he had been acting as chaplain to the English soldiers in the Spanish pay.

Cardinal Allen's authority and conciliatory talents were at the same time needed in the English College in Rome. Father William Holt, who had been appointed rector in the place of Father Agazzari in 1586—in the hope that the students would be more content under the rule of an Englishman—was, unfortunately, an extreme partisan of the Spanish succession, and, as in the College—and everywhere else—men were sharply divided into the Scottish and Spanish factions, it became necessary to remove him in the spring of 1588, during the exciting period before the attempted invasion of England. He was accordingly sent to Brussels in April, and his place was taken by Father Persons himself who, however, only remained a few months, before being sent, on the 6th November, on business of the Society to Spain and Portugal, where he remained nine years.

Father Joseph Cresswell then assumed the difficult office, but he also was found fault with for indiscreet and tyrannical

¹ Richard Barret [?-1599], D.D., was a native of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. He entered Douay College on the 28th January, 1576, and went on to Rome, where he was made D.D. in September, 1582. He was elected a canon of Rheims about the same time that he was appointed president of the English College.

behaviour, and was removed to Madrid in 1592.¹ These ¹⁵⁸⁸⁻⁹ political dissensions not only exercised all Cardinal Allen's tact and authority, but were in themselves the best proof of the grievousness of permitting the peace and calm tenor of seminary life, to be invaded by the fierce conflicts of rival dynastic parties.

The fateful year 1588 ended in a terrible deed of blood—the assassination, or, as some held it, the summary execution of the Duke of Guise. When Henry of Navarre had become, by right of birth, next heir and successor to Henry III, the Duke of Guise broke into open revolt, besieged the King in the Louvre, and made himself master of Paris, though he abstained from seizing the crown. Henry III made his escape to Blois, and summoned his cousin to a Council. Guise obeyed, after uttering his famous “*il n'oserait*” to the friends who warned him that the King meant to kill him, and fell under the poignards of the royal bodyguards at Henry III's anti-chamber door. The next day his brother, Louis, the Cardinal of Guise, suffered a similar fate.

The widowed Duchess of Guise, Catherine de Clèves, wrote to Cardinal Allen on the 17th February, 1589, recommending her cause and that of her children to him, and accrediting her messenger, M. Coquely, counsellor of the court of Parliament, whom she was sending to Rome. She begins by saying how her late husband, whom God absolve, had ever held Allen in esteem and affection, so now she counts upon his help. Her chief object is to obtain justice at the Pope's hands for the massacre, as unjust as it was inhuman, of her husband and of his brother the Cardinal of Guise ; as well as for the detention, against all reason, of her eldest son. She is also petitioning the

Knox,
II, p. 311

¹ Joseph Cresswell, S.J. [1557-1622], and his brother Arthur are frequently mentioned in the *Douay Diaries*. His step-father, William Lacy, who became a priest after his wife's death, was martyred at York in 1582. Father Cresswell was made Vice-Prefect of the English Jesuits at Madrid when Father Persons left Spain. He obtained great influence over Philip II, which he maintained with his successor, Philip III. Like Father Persons, he corresponded with statesmen and princes, but it does not appear that he used his influence otherwise than to promote the cause of the Society and of religion.

1588-9

Holy Father to bestow the benefices held by the late Cardinal upon her youngest son, his god-child, and whom he had designed as his successor.

Knox,
II, p. 312

The Cardinal evidently did his best, for we have a letter from the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the two slaughtered princes, dated Paris, 8th April, thanking him for his good offices, and trusting that he will sustain a cause which is no less that of all princes and Catholics than of his own house ; “ for those who dipped their hands in their blood, thought to advance the ruin of our holy religion.” Therefore, it is to be hoped that his Holiness and the Holy See will remedy such disorders by “ some such just judgment and decree, that we may promise ourselves the establishment and safety of the Church of God.” The excommunication of the King of France was Sixtus V’s answer, while Henry III, by the decree of Tours, formally recognised the King of Navarre as his heir ; the tragedy ending with the half-demented Jacques Clement’s poignard-thrust into the King’s breast a few months later—1st August, 1589.

1589-90

Roman
Transcripts

These events had their influence upon the affairs of the English Catholics. Henry of Navarre proclaimed himself King of France under the title of Henry IV, and, as the *avviso* from Paris of the 17th August announced, went to Mass ; but it was to take him nearly ten years before he could consolidate his power in France. The young Duke of Guise and his uncle, the Duke of Mayenne, at the head of the Catholic League, were his bitter and relentless foes ; while Philip II, bethinking himself of the descent of his daughter, the Infanta Isabel, from the Valois—through her mother, Elizabeth of France—claimed the duchy of Bretagne, originally a female fee, on her behalf. The Duke of Parma, who, with 30,000 men had been prepared at Dunkirk to cross into England, if the Armada had not failed, was accordingly ordered into France to help the Catholic League against Navarre, whom he obliged to raise the siege of Paris. Badly supported with money and men by his own sovereign and by the League, he was at last obliged to yield to the superior force of Henry IV, who returned to the attack, fortified with a present from Queen Elizabeth of £20,000 in gold and a contingent of 4,000 Englishmen under

Lord Willoughby. How like that of his uncle, Don John of Austria, was the Duke's treatment by the King of Spain, is shown by the lines printed under his protrait after Van der Werff—

“ *La France par trois fois me céda la victoire,
Et j'eusse triomphé du Belgique Lion,
Si le jaloux Philippe avait voulu me croire
Plutôt que ses soupçons et son ambition.*”

The position of the English College, and of other exiles at Rheims, deprived of their protectors the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, and with the threatened protestant ascendancy in France, was now considered so insecure, that public prayers were offered up day and night, and solemn processions were held for the Church and realm of France. The *Douay Diary* tells us that the English in the seminary devoted to prayer the whole of Friday night, from eight in the evening to six the next morning. Altogether the prospects of the college seemed so uncertain that on the 31st March, 1590, Dr. Barret wrote to Cardinal Caetani, papal legate in France, asking counsel as to the propriety of removing the college from Rheims to Douay. The Cardinal advised him to stay at Rheims, and on the following 3rd of October paid a visit to the town, where he was received in state by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The second place in the procession was assigned to the English, thirty of whom were in surplices, preceded by a cross, and the remainder followed in black gowns. Dr. Barret made the Legate a short address, welcoming him in the name of the clergy and people of Rheims and of the English residents. On the fourth day Cardinal Caetani visited the college, when Dr. William Gifford delivered a set oration in his honour.

In the following year, 14th August, 1591, the Bishop of Placentia, Filippo Sega, vice-legate of the Holy See in France, also visited the college; and in reply to an address from Francis Tregian, one of the theological students, said that as he had now seen the English students in the colleges of Rheims and Rome, so he greatly desired to see them one day in England.¹

¹ Filippo Sega was created cardinal by Innocent IX, 18th December, 1591.

1590-91

There were now English students in another seminary and country. Father Persons' indefatigable zeal had founded, through the liberality of Philip II, an English seminary at Valladolid soon after his arrival in Spain ; and the first batch of students from Rheims, consisting of Henry Floid, a deacon, with John Blackfan and John Boswell, students in theology, left the college on the 8th May, 1589 ; seven days later, 15th May, these were followed by Dr. Thomas Stillington, John Fixer and Thomas Lovelace, priests. The following year, 1590, twenty others left for the same destination.

Knox,
II, p. 436

1590

Philip II had not followed the suggestion of Olivares to make Cardinal Allen bishop of St. Omer, but it may have given him the idea of placing Allen in his dominions in the Netherlands ; and on the 10th November, 1589, he addressed a letter from Aranjuez to Sixtus V, presenting and nominating " the very rev. father in Christ, our most dear friend, William Allen," to the archbishopric of Malines, which had become vacant by the death of Archbishop John Henchin, or Hauchinus, in the previous January.

Malines, the metropolitan See of Belgium, had been reduced to a most miserable state by the civil commotions which had so long devastated the country, and although John Hauchinus had done his utmost to raise it from its ruinous condition, it still remained at his death, loaded with debts and destitute of resources.

Knox,
II, p. 317

The metropolitan chapter of St. Rombaut hastened to offer their congratulations to Cardinal Allen, who replied—1st February, 1590—that although he had by rumour heard of the nomination, and that it met with the Pope's approval ; he had not been officially informed, nor had he received the King of Spain's nomination, " nor much less the solemn rite of consecration." He had, therefore, abstained from writing to them, but their most loving letter of the 29th December had overcome his intention to keep silence. After alluding to the depressed finances of the See, he states that he is moved neither by human affection, nor desire of increase of dignity, since though unworthy, he has already received a dignity so high that his title cannot add to it, but solely by a desire to serve

the Church of God, the King, and especially the Belgian ¹⁵⁹⁰⁻⁹¹ Church, so long and unworthily afflicted. He continues—

"So far are we from seeking in this our comfort, honour or ease, that we easily foresee the great dangers to which we shall unceasingly be exposed from our neighbouring fellow-countrymen, both heretics and false brethren. But 'I do not count my life more precious than myself,' for 'love is stronger than death.' And perhaps it is God's will that the few days of life remaining to us, which we desired to spend in our unhappy country, shall be passed with you nigh to the body of St. Rombaut, a native of our land. Thither it was, to the neighbouring Louvain, which is so dear to us, that we first came when driven into exile for the faith, and there we were trained in theological studies under most excellent masters. At Malines we received all the orders, including the priesthood, and there for a time we dwelt. At Douay afterwards we met with long and friendly hospitality. . . . Thus you will have in us not a foreigner or one unknown to you, but a man naturalized by your benefits, and more anxious for your good and for the common weal than for his own life. . . ."

The letter is signed "William Cardinal Allen, elect of Malines." Two days earlier, 3rd January, he had written to Lord Paget at Brussels, in answer to a complaint of the irremediable disunion among the English exiles; and in the course of his letter, after stating how he has always sought to reconcile all such breaches, and always would, as far as God gave him grace and assistance, he continues—

"We shall come, I suppose, ere it be long nearer together, that we shall not neede to use either letters or ciphers; for I suppose your Ld^p hath hearde that his Majesty hath nominated me for Mechlin. . . ."¹

Allen was ready to undertake the heavy charge with its difficulties and dangers, provided the King of Spain would supply what was necessary to support the proffered dignity.

¹ Thomas Paget, third Baron Paget of Beaudesert, matriculated at Caius College in 1559. He fled to Paris on the discovery of Throckmorton's conspiracy in 1583. In June, 1584, the English ambassador in Paris made a formal demand for his surrender, but the King of France declined to comply. Lord Paget went to Milan and to Rome, and afterwards to Spain, where Philip II gave him a pension, his estates and goods having been seized immediately after his flight from England.

1590-91

The spring and summer passed away while the question was being discussed, and on the 27th August Sixtus V died. Urban VII succeeded to the pontifical throne, which he only occupied for thirteen days, and was in turn succeeded by Nicholas Sfondrato on the 5th December, 1590, who took the title of Gregory XIV. Cardinal Allen would necessarily be engaged in the two conclaves, and the question of the See of Malines remained in abeyance. Olivares, in a letter to Philip II of the 28th April, 1591, gives us the state of the negotiations—Allen is ready and anxious to go, so that he may render some service to the Church and to the king in the new dignity appointed him—

Knox,
II, p. 332

1591

“He knows, too, that as he will be in a place where there is a garrison of Spaniards, he will be in no danger from the machinations which the English woman may set on foot against his life. He only remarks that when he is there . . . he must necessarily live with some degree of splendour, and ought to have larger means; for Malines, he supposes, is at the present time worth nothing, and what he has, with the 100 crowns a month which will cease when he leaves Rome—though his style of living is narrow and pinched—has not been enough to allow of his buying cloth to hang his room, nor a bed to sleep on, for the one he uses is mine, and with all this he owes some money. . . .”¹

“He is at present very much occupied with the revision of the Bible, which Sixtus V made, as he is one of the Cardinals to whom the Pope has referred the matter, and he is the one who has the best knowledge of the subject, and is the stoutest in resisting changes. I believe that it will be finished this summer: at least brought into such a state that it can be sent to the universities for their opinion. Conformably with this, and the profit which your Majesty considers will be derived from his presence at Malines, you will command what is most for your service.”

The Council of Trent had defined [8th April, 1546], that the Vulgate alone among the Latin editions of the Scriptures

¹ Pope Paul II, elected in 1464, had decreed that such cardinals as had less ecclesiastical revenue than 4,000 crowns a year should receive from the *Camera Apostolica* a monthly stipend of 100 crowns in gold, which was vulgarly called “*il piatto del Cardinale povero*—the poor cardinal’s dish.” (Moroni: *Dizionario Storico-Ecclesiastico*, Vol. LII, p. 274. Knox, II, p. 332.)

was to be regarded as authentic; and from that date the sovereign pontiffs had been desirous to have a corrected recension of the Vulgate published. Pius IV had appointed a commission of cardinals and learned men for the purpose, and his successors had continued it with various changes and additions.

In the year 1579 Cardinal Montalto represented to Gregory XIII the importance of preparing a more correct edition of the Septuagint as a preliminary to the recension of the Vulgate. The Pope thereupon commissioned Cardinal Caraffa, the president of the congregation for the revision of the Vulgate, to take the matter in hand, with the assistance of such learned scholars as he might judge fit. Among the assistants so chosen we find the name of "William Allen, an Englishman." As Allen only spent five months in Rome during the winter of 1579-80, he cannot have contributed much to the work at that time; but when he returned to Rome in 1585, he doubtless resumed his place in the congregation. The revision had not been neglected under Gregory XIII, but Sixtus V, with characteristic energy, pushed the work on with all possible speed. The edition of the Septuagint was published during his lifetime—in 1587—but that of the Vulgate was not quite ready, and, as we have seen in the above letter, Pope Gregory XIV appointed a new commission in 1591 to complete the work. The conferences were held in the hall of Cardinal Marc-Antonio Colonna's palace at Zagarolo, about a mile and a half from Palestrina, and the monumental inscription raised on the spot in 1723 commemorates the names of Bellarmine, Bartholomew Miranda, John de Valverde and their five colleagues who, in "nineteen days of assiduous labour," under the presidency of Cardinal Marc-Antonio Colonna and Cardinal William Allen, brought the great work to a conclusion "to the great benefit of the Catholic religion."

Knox,
II, p. 333

Fitzherbert tells us how exactly and diligently the Cardinal employed his great learning in this work, as well as in the two particular congregations of which he had been appointed a member—those of the Index and the affairs of Germany. On

Vit. Alain,
p. 88

1591 the death of Cardinal Antonio Caraffa in 1591,¹ Gregory XIV appointed him apostolic librarian. Allen also undertook, with the co-operation of others, to correct the text of St. Augustine's works, a vast labour which was to occupy the few remaining years of his life, his last literary work, which death prevented him from completing.

1591-3 The lives of the Popes who succeeded Sixtus V were extraordinarily brief. Urban VII reigned thirteen days, Gregory XIV, elected on the 5th December, 1590, died on the 15th October, 1591; his successor, Innocent IX, elected on the 29th of the same month, followed him to the grave on the 30th December, and it was not until Clement VIII was made Pope on the 30th January, 1592, that death ceased to snatch away the wearers of the papal tiara almost as soon as they had been crowned. On the death of Innocent IX Cardinal Allen wrote, on the 7th January, 1592, to Father Persons in Spain—

Knox,
II, p. 338

"My good Father; God is angry with us, as you may perceive and we do feele, by the often taking from us our head and pastor; for now is Innocentius also, in whome for his great prudence, learning and virtue we had great hope, taken unto God after he had byn in the Seat only two monthes.

"And now we are to enter the 10th January into conclave againe. God send grace and mercy and avert his wrath from us."

Meanwhile Allen's election to the see of Malines continued to remain in abeyance; he still wrote of himself as archbishop elect,² and, in a fine letter to the Duke of Sesa, written in August [?] of the same year, he again professes his absolute readiness to go or to stay—while admitting that he would prefer to remain in Rome. He mentions his debts, the miseries of his friends, and that he cannot travel without thirty pillows.³

Philip II's campaign in France had meanwhile cooled his interest in English affairs, and his desire to place Allen nearer to England. No arrangement was made as to any increase of revenue, and, on the 30th March, 1593, Laevinus Torrentius,

ibid.,
p. 315

¹ *Ciaconius*, IV, p. 173.

² Letter to Count Mansfield, Governor of the Low Countries 22nd February, 1592.

³ *Simancas Est.*, 959; folio not numbered.

Bishop of Antwerp, who had been one of the first to congratulate Allen on his election, and had urged him to come as soon as possible, received a letter from Philip announcing to him his nomination to the see of Malines. Torrentius, in informing his friend Arias Montanus of the fact, says he supposes Cardinal Allen has refused the office ; that he is filled with astonishment and in great perplexity how to act.¹ He very reluctantly¹⁵⁹¹⁻⁴ accepted the appointment, stipulating that he should be furnished with a revenue ; or that the King should get the Pope's permission for his retaining the bishopric of Antwerp for at least two years. He tells Allen, in a letter dated Antwerp, 23rd April, 1593—

“ There is nothing in hand with which to satisfy the numerous^{Knox, II, p. 347} and urgent creditors even partially. I do not speak of the expenses necessary to such a dignity. Almost everything is wanting. There is no house at Malines, no household goods, not even any church furniture.”

Matters remained in suspense ; the King sent no answer, and in September, 1594, rumours reached Antwerp that the Court of Spain had re-opened negotiations with Cardinal Allen. Torrentius accordingly wrote to the nuncio in Brussels, 27th September—

“ There is nothing certain as yet about the church of Malines. They write from Spain that the most illustrious Cardinal Allen has given his services anew to the King ; but his friends here deny it ; and it does not seem to me likely. Still I wish for it exceedingly.”²

A month later the Bishop seems to have satisfied himself of the truth of the report, for he wrote on the 27th October to congratulate the Cardinal, urging him to comply with the King's wishes. By that time the Cardinal was dead, and Torrentius did not long survive him. He died on the 26th April, 1595, and in the following year Matthew Hovius, who had administered the diocese of Malines as vicar capitular

¹ *Bulletins de la Com. Roy. d'Histoire : Bruxelles, 2^e Série Tome 7*, p. 310. Knox, I, p. lxxxix.

² *Ibid.*, 3^e Série, Tome 10, p. 58 ; *ibid.*, 2nd Série Tome 7, p. 343.

1591-4

from the death of Archbishop John Hauchinus in January, 1589, was consecrated archbishop.

Knox,
II, p. 380

Allen's hesitation to accept the appointment was fully justified on the grounds which both he and Torrentius had put forward; and there seems to be no real foundation for the rumours mentioned later by Sir Francis Englefield in a letter to Allen's nephew, Thomas Hesketh, dated 27th January, 1597, that his relations had dissuaded him from going to Malines, in the hope that if he remained in Rome he might become Pope. Englefield says—

1594-6

"These points being better known to yourself than to me, I will not accuse you resolutely of them, though I know some which love you full dearly, of whose mouths myself have heard that their own ears have been witnesses of divers speeches to that sense, uttered by yourself and by some more about his Grace, also in familiar conferences among yourselves."

As Englefield had begun by alluding to Allen's "delay in fulfilling the King's wishes," and that the Bishop of Cassano had written of it to Madrid, it appears highly probable that the Spanish faction, of which Sir Francis was the most prominent lay member, looked upon Allen's conduct as a slight to Philip II, and as suggested by Owen Lewis, the head of the anti-Spanish and anti-Jesuit party in Rome.

William Allen's name usually appears in the list of archbishops of Malines, but always with the addition that he did not take possession of the See.

CHAPTER XV

To his dying day William Allen was to remain convinced that ¹⁵⁹⁰ the only hope for England lay in Spanish interference. The remaining years of his life were therefore clouded and embittered by a threefold disappointment—the failure of the Armada, Philip II's abandonment of the enterprise, and the attitude of the Catholics in England towards the projected invasion. To this were added the pain and grief at the consequent inevitable increase of persecution from without, and of dissension within the main body of the Catholics, both laymen and clerics.¹

His patriotism, and no man ever loved his country more, consisted in a passionate desire for its greatest good, which could only be obtained by reunion with the Church; and which he had been brought to believe could now be achieved solely by the intervention of the power of Spain. The cost, whatever it might be, was not to be measured beside the gain.

Allen and Persons, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir William Stanley—who had been ready with 800 men to join the Duke of Parma's force—were the chiefs of the Spanish party; which was vigorously opposed by the partisans of James VI—the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, Lord Paget and his brother, Thomas Morgan, Sir Richard Shelley, until his death in 1589; and in Rome nearly the whole of the secular clergy with Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano, at their head; while the Jesuit Father Creighton worked as hard during his mission to Rome on behalf of the Scottish succession, as Father ¹⁵⁹⁰⁻⁹¹

¹ Strangely enough, a recrudescence of Catholic feeling in England followed immediately upon the defeat of the Armada. The Acts of the Privy Council for the autumn of 1588 testify to the fact in various parts of the country, notably in Norfolk, which had been for a short time the scene of Allen's own labours before his final departure from England. The county was reported as being "much infected" by the recusants in the common gaol, "so they are all to be sent to stricter confinement in Wisbech Castle." (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1588, pp. 249, 250, 317.)

1590-91

Persons himself on the other side. These men held out strong hopes of James's conversion; and they argued that even a Protestant king with toleration for religion—and this they could point out James was actually extending as far as he dared to the Catholics of Scotland—was to be preferred to the horrors of war and of Spanish rule in England.

The resultant strife and heart-burning are painfully portrayed in the correspondence of the time, and still more in the stream of furious polemical literature which was soon to flow from the pens of both camps—publications so violent in tone, and often so palpably inspired with the desire to confound their opponents with hard words rather than to set forth the truth, that they defeat their own ends, and do little to convince the reader. In his capacity of healer of differences, of arbitrator and ever ready counsellor of peace, Cardinal Allen's influence can only be gauged by the chaos which succeeded, when that influence was ended by death; as by the eagerness with which both sides continued for years to claim him as their own, to appeal to his judgments and opinions—strong advocate of the Spanish claims though they knew him to be.

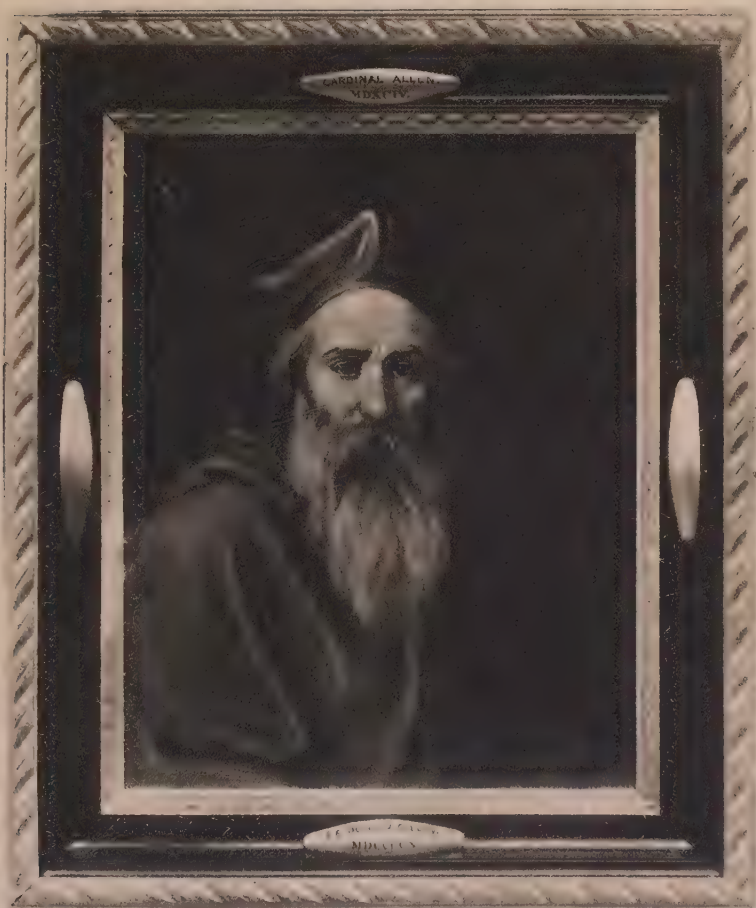
Vit. Alani,
p. 88

As for Allen's conduct as Cardinal we have the testimony of Fitzherbert—"never absent from consistory, nor among the last to arrive. In giving his opinion he always spoke with such moderation that he offended no one, and yet with such freedom that his conscience never reproached him afterwards." And it is interesting to recall that the sixteenth century, among the many great Englishmen it produced, counted two of the most illustrious members of the Sacred College of Cardinals—Reginald Pole, styled "Angelical rather than Anglican," by his great contemporary Gianmatteo de Cupis, and William Allen.

Knox,
II, p. 335

1591

On the 18th September, 1591, Pope Gregory XIV extended the extensive faculties already possessed by Cardinal Allen for the benefit of the English nation, by a brief conferring upon him various additional powers; and at the same time enjoining all priests and other Catholics on the English and Irish mission, to pay him ready obedience in all things which concerned the mission, to refer to his decision all controverted points, doubts



From the painting presented to Wickham College by Joseph's Willow Bay

and difficulties among the Catholics, and to do whatever he might advise or command. "He alone," says F. Holt in his *Memorial*, "was constituted by the Apostolic See prefect and visitor of the whole mission, and he alone had power to command and to punish."¹

It was a difficult charge thus to govern men from a distance and with such uncertain means of communication, but Allen proved equal to the task, and so long as he lived, the peace of the mission remained undisturbed; though it cannot but be a matter of surprise that at this period, when the return of England to the faith by force of arms had become so problematical, he did not think—so far as we can discover—of the advantage it would have been to all concerned, to have appointed titular bishops, for the proper and regular government of the Church in England.

Among the disappointments which weighed upon Allen during his later years, was the inability to carry out a scheme for a college, which would provide a longer and deeper course of study for such of the secular priests, who showed most ability and aptitude for study; so as to ensure a constant succession of learned clergy, with a more exact and closer acquaintance with theology and canon law than was necessary or practicable for the ordinary missionary priest. With his love of learning he had, from the earliest days at Douay, urged upon his students by word and example the importance of study, encouraging all who were capable of it to take theological degrees at the University. And he keenly desired to found a seminary where such men could devote several years to perfecting their knowledge; he also wished that it might be a place of refuge and retreat for priests driven by stress of persecution out of England. But, as Fitzherbert tells us, lack of funds, and the opposition of certain influential persons who disliked the idea, frustrated his project; many of those, also, upon whom he could have counted, were now through their own miseries and losses debarred from helping him. How useful

Knox
I., p. 380

Vit. Alani,
p. 90

¹ *How the Catholic Religion was Maintained in England during Thirty-eight Years of Persecution*: by F. William Holt, S.J. (1596).

1591

and necessary such a college would have been, the event was to prove; and the plan alone remains to show Allen's foreseeing wisdom, and clear insight into the present and future needs of the English mission.

Knox,
II, p. 320

We see from two letters of Cardinal Allen to Thomas Throckmorton, dated 4th January and 20th February, 1591, how keen was the political severence between the Scottish and Spanish parties, and how he looked upon the action of the former not only as a personal conspiracy against himself, but as a grave offence against the common cause, which was the cause of God and the Church.¹ There is first an interesting reference to Thomas Morgan, who had been released from the Bastille the previous year, after five years' imprisonment, and of whose fidelity to Mary Queen of Scots Allen makes no doubt, while opining—

"That he passed not in his pretended service either wisely or sincerely . . . and that by many cunning shifts . . . he gave great suspicion that he dealt not for God and according to conscience, but for his owne advancement and some of his particular followers."

Morgan had represented Allen as "a cruel man and of Wolsey's inclinations." The Cardinal warns his correspondent not to interpret his "doings herein . . . as a particular or personal revenge—

"This I say is your error, that you suppose things spoken and done by Morgan and his faction against me be not done against the common cause, the service of God, the church and our countrie."

The Scotch party, discouraged by Allen's absolute devotion to the cause of Spain, had hoped to obtain the elevation to the purple of their chief supporter in Rome, Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano, and had ventured to send John Arnold, prior of the English Carthusians in Flanders, who had been a student at Douay in 1575, on a mission to Philip II to supplicate

¹ Thomas Throckmorton was at this time affianced to Cardinal Allen's niece, Mary Allen, but he died on the 16th October, 1595, before the marriage could take place.

his interest on Lewis's behalf. "Was this not," asks ¹⁵⁹¹ Allen—

"A matter of comely qualitie or can it be otherwise counted than a plain treason against the common cause? A means indeed to bring the Kinge in doubtfulness of us all, and to think that under pretence of religion we did nothing else but seeke to supplant one another, and so might have just cause to surcease all doings for us and to avert his holy intentions from the general succour of our countrie."¹

Unavailing efforts had been made to raise contention between Allen and Owen Lewis: the Cardinal alludes to them as follows—

"Now as for my Lord of Cassano, the faction could not have done him a greater displeasure or disgrace in the world, under pretence to extoll him, to make him great of purpose to contradict me, and to draw him into such dishonourable action both against his knowledge and will: whose exaltation might otherwise be comfortable to me; which otherwise achieved or procured by faction and partiality should neither be profitable to himself nor well liking to his Majestie."

Shortly after, on the 6th May, the Cardinal and Owen Lewis thought it necessary to publish a joint protestation against the rumours persistently circulated of their disunion. Under their hands and seals, for the confusion of the malicious, and for the consolation of their friends and the Catholics whom the false reports have reached, they protest that their ancient friendship of thirty years' standing remains unaltered; and for the love of God they entreat their English brethren at home or in exile to enter into no divisions or altercations on their behalf. The honour of God, the defence of religion, and the return of their beloved country to the orthodox faith have

Knox,
II, p. 334

¹ Father Persons states that Arnold acted out of the "intrinsic friendship he had for his countryman, Thomas Morgan." [They were both Welsh.] He describes how the prior, on his way homeward after committing the scandal in Spain of trying to get a red hat for Dr. Lewis, died suddenly at his entrance into Italy, "being young and lustie and resolute to prosecute the said faction more than ever, but that God would not have it."²

² "An Observation of certain apparent Judgments of Almighty God against such as have been seditious in the English Catholic cause," etc., December, 1598: *Stonyhurst MS.*, p. 485. Knox, II, p. 323.

1591

been the aim and object of all their labours and aspirations, while the firm and constant amity between them has never faltered or suffered alteration.

The same day, 4th January, on which Allen had written his first letter to Thomas Throckmorton, he wrote a similar letter to Charles Paget, a passage from which was printed by Father Persons in his anonymous *Brief Apologie*. The Cardinal requests Paget to recognise him as the leader of their common cause—

Knox,
II, p. 319

"Whereby it followeth that all those that seditiously conspire my disgrace do band themselves directly and traiterously against the good of their countrey and against the service of the highest Princes [the Pope and Philip II] in Christendom, by whom we all expect succour and relief for our so unfortunate state; and when I name priests and religious you must not straight wayes infer (as you seem to do in your letter) that the priests band themselves against the nobilitie, as though all the nobility in banishment or at home were of Morgan's faction. . . .

"And as for servants and followers in England, which you say he [we ?] shall find more by following another course than this I do, God send we come to the trial and happily arrive there, and then shall you see by the effect what lack of friends I shall there have; where I think verily to have you my friend also, which shall be best for you and very grateful unto me, howsoever you have here entangled yourself in my adversaries' broken matter."

Roman
Transcripts,
18th April

1591-92

Passages in the above letters show how Allen still clung to the hope of Philip II's intervention; and a letter from Father Persons at Seville to Cardinal Sfondrato a few months later, tells him that the Cardinal of England, chief foundation-stone of the work—" *principalissima pietra in questa opera* " and the rector of the English college [F. Creswell] can testify for how many years they have laboured to procure this remedy.

"To confess the truth, for my part I now find myself weak and tired, not only in bodily strength through my labours, but also in mind at seeing the constant delays of the princes who have dealt in the matter, and the great opportunities which have been lost."

Knox,
II, p. 339

The other side were equally busy. In his letter to Persons of the 7th January, 1592, Allen relates how Charles Paget has written from Flanders to some of the Inquisition at Rome, that

the Council of England have offered him a passport and safe ¹⁵⁹¹⁻² conduct to pass and re-pass, especially with Canterbury and Hatton, who will, he says, become Catholics. "By which you may see what kind of practices these good fellows have in hand, and with whom they deal."¹

Charles Paget appears to have been playing a double game at this time. He had been attainted of treason by Act of Parliament in 1587, and was a pensioner of Spain, having offered his services to Philip II; which did not prevent him from using his utmost efforts on behalf of James VI. In the above letter, Cardinal Allen writes, no doubt upon good authority—

"Moreover I had warning two or three months ago, and wrote to you of the same, how the two companions MM. [John Fixer and John Snowden?] were with the treasurer, and were suspected to have discovered all they knew, and perhaps added somewhat of their owne more than they knew; since which the former of them hath been here as you ere this know. But now we are further advertised that they have betrayed all indeed."

The continued presence of a Spanish force in France was doubtless the chief reason for the Queen's proclamation, published in London on the 20th November, 1591.² Allen alludes to it as follows—

¹ The conversion of Archbishop Whitgift, a strong Calvinist, to the Catholic faith was a manifest absurdity; but Sir Christopher Hatton had long been suspected of secretly favouring the Catholics. He had been made Lord Chancellor in 1587, and a Knight of the Garter the following year. He was at the height of his favour with Queen Elizabeth at this moment, so his conversion was little less unlikely than that of Whitgift himself.

² "Year after year a subsidiary force sailed from England, too inconsiderable to do more than create a diversion for the moment. . . . The truth is, that Henry and Elizabeth were playing a similar game, each seeking to derive benefit from the embarrassments of the other. If the Queen reluctantly acceded to the repeated requests of the King, it was chiefly with the view of dislodging the Spaniards from Bretagne; and if Henry never scrupled to break his engagements with her, it was because he knew that the presence of a Spanish force so near her own shore would act as a stimulus on her parsimony . . . and compel her to aid him with men and money and ammunition" (Lingard, Vol. VI, p. 269). The proclamation [Strype's *Annals*, IV, 78] was answered by Dr. Stapleton under the name of "Didymus Veridicus Heufildanus" in his *Apologia pro Rege Catholico Philippo II, contra varias et falsas accusationes Elizabethae Angliae Reginae*, 1592.

1591-3

"By whose advertisements, and I know not by what other meanes or surmises they have lately set forth a Proclamation of an intended invasion by the King of Spayne; wherein particularly they set down his practices, and how he procured me for my treasons to be made Cardinal, and other things to bring us and all priests into hatred of the people; and I think you be named in the said Proclamation,¹ and the way how the priests are sent out of Spayne to prepare (as they say) the way to the said invasion; and so followeth . . . most straight order and provision for prevention of the said feigned invasion with very cruel provision against priests and Catholiks. The poore wretches are more afraid than we know cause; *sed Deum non invocaverunt, ideo trepidaverunt*, etc."

1592-3

35 Eliz.,
cap. 11

As usually happened, the proclamation of November, 1591, was followed by fresh enactments against the recusants. In the Parliament of 1593, the laws were passed which fill up the tale of the penalties imposed by the legislature during Elizabeth's reign, and which bear their own witness to the vitality and the strength of that which they were framed to destroy. So much had already been done in the way of persecuting legislation, that the ingenuity of the Queen's ministers must have been taxed to invent new penalties, which could, indeed, vary little from the old, and consisted chiefly in a tightening of the screws. A Popish recusant above sixteen years of age was prohibited from going more than five miles from his dwelling under pain of the forfeiture of all his goods, lands and annuities during life; and a form of submission was drawn up which Popish recusants were called upon to subscribe, promising to "obey and perform her Majesty's Laws and Statutes in repairing to church, and hearing Divine Service," also testifying in conscience "that the Bishop and See of Rome hath not, nor ought to have any Power or Authority . . . within her Majesty's realms."

In Allen's above-quoted letter of the 7th January—the last from his pen to Father Persons that has come down to us, he mentions Dr. Dee—

Knox,
II, p. 340

"And Dr. Dee, their conjuror or astrologer, is said to have put them in more doubt; for that he hath told the Council by his

¹ Father Persons is styled in the Proclamation the King of Spain's confessor (*Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. CCXL, 42).

calculation that the realm indeed shall be conquered this summer, 1592-3 believe him who will."¹

In a previous paragraph, as we have seen, the Cardinal spoke of the "two companions" who had been with Lord Burghley. He alludes to them again—

"If it should come to his Majestie or other superior's eares that those priests should betray the Catholic cause or be occasion of this Proclamation, it would be very scandalous, especially there in Spayne. I trust we shall have a copy of the Proclamation shortly. I doubt me your way of intercourse betwene England and Spayne and contrary wise is now by the said companions discovered. God's will be fulfilled and save us *a falsis fratribus*. I hope you be before this perfectly recovered. Have a good heart in God, for by Him we shall overcome all. Thus much for a farewell before I enter the conclave. Adew, my deare Father, my comfort in these tribulations and temptations, this 7th January, 1592."

One of the "false brethren" was John Fixer, who went by the name of Thomas Wilson in his correspondence with the English Government; the other, John Snowden, had entered the college at Rheims in May, 1589, and had remained there two years. Fixer, whose name appears several times in the *Douay Diary*, had been ordained priest at Rheims on the same day—14th March, 1587—as the arch-traitor Gilbert Gifford. Both he and Snowden, in their answers to Burghley's interrogatories, declared that they had come over to England to prevent, as far as they could, the invasion of their native soil by foreigners, and from a natural love and affection for their country. They would rather die a thousand deaths than be urged to anything against their conscience. Snowden maintains that it is not so impossible as is generally thought to be a good subject, and at the same time a good Catholic. He meant to show the Catholics that the King of Spain means no good by his invasion, and to have proved from the actions and writings of Cardinal Allen and Persons that they have no

1591-92

Knox,
I, p. 214

¹ John Dee [1527-1605], mathematician and astrologer. Although generally called Dr. Dee, he was never in reality more than M.A. Rector of Upton-upon-Severn, Worcestershire, in 1553, and Warden of Manchester in 1595. His evil reputation for sorcery caused him to be shunned by all classes of society, but Queen Elizabeth esteemed him highly.

1591-92

respect to the afflictions of poor Catholics at home. For this purpose he had furnished himself with a copy of the Cardinal's book of proclamation [the *Admonition*] that was to have come with the Spanish army; but it was taken from him at Antwerp, and the bookbinder put to death for conveying it.¹

Snowden argues the impolicy of compelling Catholics to apostacise or putting them to death; in place of one put to death ten come in from the seminaries, and twenty go over to the seminaries; their martyrdom is the greatest service to opponents abroad, for accounts are printed, painted and published, and princes are moved to compassion.

Snowden adds that he has a project to bring over the seminaries and priests, but must first ascertain whether his lordship wishes the Catholics to be utterly extirpated, or whether they might have indulgence in matter of conscience, on security of their fidelity, as they have in Germany and in France. If these propositions be accepted, the management of Catholic affairs might be brought to his lordship's hands; but strict secrecy must be used. . . . No one Catholic authority, be he ever so learned or beloved, can counterpoise the Cardinal or Persons among Catholics abroad; so those in England must form a corporation to gain authority, and then dissolve the seminaries and discharge the Cardinal from the management of English affairs. This is far easier than to succeed by blood or cruelty, and he believes his lordship would never repent of giving liberty to Catholics, under such qualifications.

Although Snowden appears later to have allowed information to be wormed out of him, he does not seem to have meant treacherously towards his co-religionists. He was justified in holding what view he pleased as to the invasion of England, or the policy followed by Cardinal Allen and the partisans of Spain. The saintly Dr. William Gifford was one of the stoutest opponents of the Spanish party, and there is a letter to him from Sir Francis Englefield—who was his cousin—dated, Madrid, 10th November, 1590, imploring him not to be guided

¹ *Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. CCXXXVIII, 22nd May, 1591, Nos. 165, 168.

by his own zeal, but to "yield to our Cardinal, your president, 1592-4 etc." ¹

Meanwhile, despite Cardinal Allen's presence in Rome, and all the weight of his authority brought to bear upon reducing to peace and harmony the various parties in the English college, a spirit of insubordination and distrust on the one hand, and Father Cresswell's injudicious and tyrannical behaviour on the other, had brought about a fresh crisis. It might be, that in the ferment of political bitterness which reigned among the students, Allen's influence was less potent now than when, on his former visits to Rome in the quality of peace-maker and superior, he had appeared to them solely in his spiritual and magisterial capacity, unidentified with any political party.

It was now judged prudent to remove Father Cresswell, and to return to an Italian rector who, it might be hoped, would be free from political bias either towards James VI or Philip II, and could devote himself solely to the good government of the college. One of the most eminent members of the Society, Father Vitelleschi, afterwards General of the Society, was therefore appointed rector, and Cardinal Allen wrote, on the 24th April, 1592, to Philip II that Cresswell was going, at the order of his superiors and at Allen's petition, to help Father Persons at Valladolid. "He will speak to your Majesty about English affairs." ²

Scotch affairs were taking an important turn at this time. In 1592 James VI, with the advice of his Councillors of State, determined to send Father Creighton and Father James Gordon on a secret mission to the new Pope Clement VIII. Creighton went first to Madrid, where he remained several months, and then started for Rome, carrying with him a letter of recommendation from Monsignor Pietro Millino, nuncio in Spain, to Cardinal Aldobrandini. Creighton's mission to the Pope was to arrange for the restoration of religion in Scotland, offering liberty of conscience, and asking for the creation of a Scotch Cardinal. ³

Roman
Transcripts,
3rd Aug.

¹ *Dom. Eliz. Addenda*, Vol. XXXI, p. 313.

² *Simancas*, L.A., 960.

³ Gordon : *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 538.

1592-4

Roman
Transcripts,

1592-4

Clement VIII was doubtless no more bound to the Spanish party than had been Sixtus V ; he appears to have received Father Creighton with the greatest kindness, and the latter returned to Scotland accompanied by Georgio Sampiretti as legate from the Pope to the King of Scotland, as well as by Father Edmund Hay. Gordon appears to have followed later, and there is a letter from him to Cardinal Aldobrandini, dated Antwerp, 2nd July, 1594, saying he has arrived full of hope, and with every prospect of doing what the Pope and the Cardinal desire, things are maturing, etc. Gordon was the bearer to Lords Huntley, Angus, Erroll, and Lindsay de Balgawys [Balcarres] as their receipts testify, of the sum of 9,600 *scudi*. Probably at the instigation of the English party, James VI afterwards changed his mind and enforced the laws against the Catholics. Father Creighton was eventually compelled to leave Scotland, in 1595, and passed into Flanders, where he devoted all his energies to the foundation of a Scotch seminary at Douay.

CHAPTER XVI

ON 12th December, 1592, Cardinal Allen addressed a long¹⁵⁹² and touching pastoral letter to the Catholics of England.^{Кнох, II, p. 343} He first expresses his continual sorrow of mind at the thought of the extreme heat of persecution they are enduring, and from which he would be glad to deliver them at the cost of a hundred lives of his own. At the same time the daily intelligence he receives of their notable patience and constancy gives him equivalent comfort and consolation—

“Doubt ye not, my most sweet and faithful coadjutors and true confessors, that our adversaries’ iniquities are now in God’s sight neere accomplished and at the height; on the contrary side the numbers of our brethren that are to suffer for His truth are neere made up and shortlie to receive . . . the worthie fruits of their happie labors. . . .

“Comfort yourselves herein, my loving fellows, and in the moste Christian and glorious cause that ever God’s priests or people suffered in. We are ashamed heere to sit *ad sarcinas* and see you in the fight. . . . and we count your case a thousand tymes more happie and meritorious than ours. . . . Wee that by His appointment staye yet heere may in good tyme have our turn, and in the mean we succour with prayers, sacrifice and tears . . . with continual instance to God and man for some reliefe of your miseries.”

Then, addressing himself specially to the clergy, the Cardinal reminds them above all “of this one thing—

“That I would have you use greate compassion and mercy-fulness towards such of the laity especially as for mere fear or saving their family, wyfe or children from ruin are so far only fallen as to come sometymes to their church, or be present at the tyme of their service. For though it be not lawful to do so muche, nor in itself any ways excusable, yet such necessity in that kind of men maketh the offence less and more compassionate, yea and more easily by

1592

you absolved. And therefore be not hard nor rough, nor rigorous nor *morosi* in receivinge again and absolving them when they confess their infirmities and be sorry for the same. . . . Which mercie you must use, though they fall more than once, and though perhaps you have some probable feare that they will of like infirmities fall againe. Whereof we cannot be assured, because God may give them more strength. . . . You must use much wisdom and much charity, and be assured that in most cases of this kynde *tutior est via misericordiae quam justitiae rigoris; sed Deus dabit nobis intellectum in omnibus*. . . .

"To make all sure, I have demanded the Pope's Holyness that now is [Clement VIII] his sentence; who expresslie told me that to participate with the protestants . . . by coming to their churches or service . . . was by no means lawful or dispensable, but added withall, that such as of feare and weakness, or other temporal force or necessity should do it, ought to be gently dealt withall and easily absolved, as before said. This is his Holyness' express will and my opinion, in which I desire all my loving fellows to agree, *ut non sint in nobis schismata*."

Evidently some of the priests had scruples on the point, for Allen continues—

"And if there be any which cannot quiet his mynde in the matter, send me worde, and I will take the paines to treat of the matter at large that they may see their error."

1592-4

At the same time agitation never altogether ceased among the exiles, on the question of invasion of England or Scotland.

Thus we find Sir William Stanley writing from Brussels to Philip II in the month of October, that he hears Norris is going into Brittany at the head of 6,000 men, and how desirable it would be to carry the war into England. Cardinal Allen knows how it could be done.¹ Some months previously he had mooted the subject, for Father Cresswell had written to the King on the 4th August, at the order and in the name of Cardinal Allen, to remind his Majesty of the importance of the enterprise projected by Stanley and others.² After James VI's reversal to a policy of persecution of the Catholics, Father Creighton wrote to Don Juan Idiaquez [2nd November, 1594],

¹ *Simancas: Est.*, 606 f. 213.

² *Ibid. Est.*, 1103 = 2851, f. 30.

praying that Stanley and Colonel Patton [?], both good soldiers, ¹⁵⁹²⁻⁴ might be sent into Scotland.¹

Ever since the removal of the English College to Rheims, the people of Douay had, on divers occasions, prayed for its return to their town ; and we have seen that on the succession to the throne of the Huguenot Henry of Navarre, the great ally of the Queen of England, it had become a great question whether the college could safely remain at Rheims. The papal legate in France, Cardinal Caetani, when consulted in the year 1590, had, however, seen no necessity for the removal, and the project was abandoned for the time. The house and garden at Douay still remained the property of the college, and early in the year 1593 it was decided by Dr. Barret and his advisers, with the sanction of Cardinal Allen, to migrate to Douay. Some of the members of the college were sent to England, some to Rome, but the greater part of the students went to Douay, Dr. Barret removing there himself on the 23rd June. He was followed by the Rev. Edmund Lewkenor and the Rev. Matthew Kellison, professors of theology, on the 8th August ; and the last entry in the *Second Diary* states, " On the same day a ^{Knox,} French boy, named Vincent, with James Watson, the _{I, p. 251} president's servant, were sent to Douay."

1593

The college had spent fifteen years and five months at Rheims ; its second sojourn at Douay was to last 200 years.

On the 25th July, 1593, King Henry IV, having convinced himself that he could not peacefully retain the French crown without adopting the Catholic faith, made—to the great annoyance and alarm of Queen Elizabeth—his abjuration of Calvinism. As soon as the King had announced his intention, Lord Burghley composed a remonstrance for the Queen to sign, showing the disgrace and danger of such a step. Elizabeth added a letter in her own hand, but her messenger arrived too late ; the ceremony of abjuration had already taken place, and Henry, in his answer, could only confirm his former

¹ *Simancas* ; *Est.*, 607, f. 89. Sir John Norris [1547 ?–1597] had been in Brittany with 3,000 foot from April, 1591, to February, 1592. He did not go into Brittany again until September, 1593, when, with the Duc d'Aumont he seized the fortress of Crozon, where he was wounded.

1593

assurances of gratitude and esteem, while politely apologising for his conduct. Policy demanded of Elizabeth that she should overcome the first burst of passion, in which she had loudly charged her ally with perfidy and duplicity, and that she should secure his amity by some other tie, now that they were no longer bound by the profession of a like religion. A negotiation ensued, and a treaty concluded at Melun, by which both princes obliged themselves to maintain war against Philip, as long as that monarch should remain at war with either of them.

Although the Queen had thus fortified herself against Spain, the continual expense of her military expeditions, and the alarm caused by the presence of Philip's forces in Brittany—the possibility of his making a peace with France which would leave him free to concentrate his whole energies against her, appear to have inclined Elizabeth and her great minister not only to thoughts of peace with Spain, but to the possibility of making that peace more stable and enduring, by admitting into its terms some measure of toleration, or at least of cessation of persecution towards her Catholic subjects, who had by their conduct in her hour of peril, given assurance of their absolute loyalty and fidelity to the crown and to her person. At the same time the tolerant example of Henry IV, and its peaceful consequences may have had its effect, while arguments such as those urged by the priest, John Snowden, upon Lord Burghley were doubtless pressed upon him and his mistress by others, and supported by their own experiences during thirty-five years of active coercion. Secretly and tentatively negotiations were opened through Richard Hopkins, an exile at Antwerp, with Cardinal Allen in 1593, and Allen's answer to his letter was immediately forwarded to Lord Burghley, who endorsed it with his own hand :—"Cardinal Allen, from Rome, to Richard Hopkins, fugitive, August 14th, 1593." ¹

Knox,
II, p. 348

¹ Richard Hopkins, a man of good family and considerable means, was a student of the Middle Temple when he retired to Louvain on account of religion in 1566. He generously helped Allen to establish Douay College, and to the end of his days was the great supporter of

After acknowledging Hopkins' letter of the 10th July with its information of a "certain overture" and "secret commission of an accord between England and Spain, and its desire to have his and the Pope's opinion upon "some reasonable conditions for toleration of religion," Allen continues—

"And after a little pause of mind upon so sudden and unwonted news, I could think no otherwise but that God himself hath stirred up in their hearts this motion for the saving of that realm from the present fears and dangers and perplexities it is fallen into. And thereby also a special [favour] to me . . . once ere I die, not only to give . . . desired comforts to my afflicted Catholic friends . . . but therein to serve most faithfully . . . my very enemies; though otherwise than through these . . . debates in religion . . . I know I have none. . . .

"I thank God I am not so estranged from the place of my birth most sweet, nor so affected to foreigners that I prefer not the weal of that people above all mortal things; whereof, if it pleased the Queen's Majesty or Council to take a sure taste, I desire no more but that they would confidently use and command me in this matter. . . . Upon the receipt of your letter I had not slept before I had dealt with his Holiness, if the party. . . . had brought any warrant in the world from any in authority . . . which might have been (as yet it may be) kept as close as themselves would require."

After declaring his knowledge of Clement VIII's tender desire for England's weal, and that he would embrace this cause of peace with all hearty affection, Allen says—

"Only we want good grounds of her Majesty's intention and good acceptance of our travails herein; which if you can by writing or other equivalent means obtain, let me alone for the rest. . . .

"In all which matters as myself would proceed with much more alacrity, if I might understand how far and in what sort they of themselves would condescend in matters of religion, so I am sure that upon a reasonable toleration . . . we may induce his Holiness to take this motion to heart . . . so it is no less certain that the King . . . will never make peace . . . without some important moderation in religion.

"Therefore this point well established and cleared, and the

the missionaries in England. His best known work *Prayer and Meditation* was dedicated to the Benchers of the four principal Courts in London, and was greatly admired. He published his *Memoriall of a Christian Life* at Rouen in 1586, and died in Paris about 1595.

1593

places holden of England rendered to the King, I trust . . . the King by his Holiness' means may be induced to a peace most necessary and happy for England and profitable for the whole Christian world ; whereof if I might by any office of my life or death be a promoter or procurer, I would reckon the remnant of my few years I have to come, more fortunate than the many evil and long years of my life past. . . ."

After a reiteration of his own entire affection and faithful desire to serve his country, Allen comes to the practical proposal that one or two civil or temporal wise lawyers, " void of passion and partiality," should be sent over into Flanders, and there joining with Hopkins and some of the principal exiles, lay and clerical, should set down such articles as might be agreed upon—these to be forwarded to Allen, who would lay them before the Pope—

" Or if the parties think better to come hither with her Majesty's licence, and you (if it be thought good) with them for more speed and substantial despatch of all things, I will give them, or any of them protection, and procure them large passports and benign audience of the Pope ; and all this with as much secrecy as themselves shall desire."

1593-94

In sending word of this negotiation to Spain, Allen wrote on the 6th November, that he had as yet received no answer from Antwerp. On the 9th, he writes again that he hears from his agent at Venice that the idea has not been given up, and that the Grand Duke of [Tuscany ?] is also negotiating. Although he thinks it probable the English are in bad faith, it is well to go on " neither too fast nor too slow." ¹

In the meanwhile he had expressed his own readiness to go to Flanders, and treat from there. ² From information received at Rome, Lord Burghley was opposed to the scheme, while Lord Essex and others were favourable to it. A correspondent of Allen's in Venice had sent home a favourable account of the Cardinal, and had recommended peace. The Queen took it in good part, and spoke to his messenger. ³

¹ *Simancas* : *Est.*, 961, f. 1.

² " Duke of Sesa to Philip II," 15th August : *Est.*, 961.

³ *Simancas* : *Est.*, 961.

With Burghley opposed to the projected peace and tolera-¹⁵⁹³⁻⁴tion there was little to be done ; the negotiation fell through, and war with Philip—even to the taking of Cadiz in 1596—and persecution at home continued to be the policy of England.

Allen, in his large-minded charity, had never looked askance at the departure of any of the students from his seminaries to the stricter discipline of monastic life. Necessary as was every unit of the missionary army constantly streaming on to the spiritual battlefields of England, he never grudged a man his vocation to the cloister, the moment he had satisfied himself of its sincerity. Anthony Martin, an Oxonian, had entered Rheims college in January, 1588, and had left for^{Knox, I, p. 218} Rome in May of the following year, after distinguishing himself as a teacher of youth. He subsequently determined to enter the Benedictine Order ; and there is a fine letter to him from Cardinal Allen—in reply to two of his—dated 21st January, 1594, congratulating him on the choice of so happy a state of^{ibid., II, p. 354} life, although his remarkable talents had made him very dear to Allen ; but, “ in the words of the Apostle : I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth.”—

“ I congratulate with you from the bottom of my heart : neither is there anything more for you or me to crave Christ our sovereign¹⁵⁹⁴ good, who inspired you this, than that He will please of His infinite piety and goodness to assist you to the end of the work of your salvation which He has so happily begun ; which He will not fail, if that, since you have put your hand to the plough of the Lord, you do not look back, but advance forward to the utmost you may be able ; if you are diligent in the hard, yet sweet, labours of religion ; if courageously and stoutly you shake off temptations. . . .

“ Let others think and say what they list of this your most holy state of life ; I would have you persuaded I most heartily espouse your affairs and mightily like this resolution you have taken of engaging in religion . . . in this most holy order which formerly so flourished in our country ; and your pen and genius will render you an ornament thereof ; and therefore so much the more you make in that most holy discipline, so much the more I shall love you, and you will have no occasion to repent you of this resolution. . .

“ Wherefore remember me in your prayers and sacrifices, and salute from me the superiors of your house and Order very affectuously in the Lord, who will abundantly recompense this most Christian charity which they thus exercise on our fellow pilgrims

1594

and exiled. Adieu, my dear child ; from our Mansion at Rome ; the 12th of the Calender of February, 1594 ; with my own hand, thine in Christ. William Cardinal Allen." ¹

Such a letter as this proves to demonstration that it was no feeling of jealousy on Allen's part, that first gave birth to the estrangement which had gradually grown up between himself and the Jesuits, although his personal friendship with Father Persons—despite the distance which separated them during the last six years of the Cardinal's life—appears to have suffered no diminution. One of the chief factors of disturbance in the English College at Rome, ever continued to be the supposed influence brought to bear upon the students by their Jesuit superiors, and the open favour shown to those who inclined to join the Society ; at the same time the great discrepancy between the number of Englishmen who became Jesuits, and the number of those—seldom more than two or three, and never, during Elizabeth's reign, more than seven—who were sent on the mission to England, was another fruitful source of discontent and heart-burning. Allen, as we have seen, had noted the danger from the first, and had frequently pointed out to the Jesuit authorities the need of the utmost caution in accepting English students into the Society. At the same time it is possible that he regretted, and even came to blame the attitude taken up by the Jesuits towards certain English affairs.

The enemies of the Society inferred—upon what evidence we know not, probably none—that it was Jesuit opposition which prevented the Cardinal from carrying out his design for a college for higher ecclesiastical studies ; and Humphrey Ely, John Mush and one or two others professed to know that he had spoken disapprovingly of the Jesuits, finding that in their labours in the English harvest and for the colleges, they regarded the interests of the Society more than the peace of the students, or the good of the afflicted Church. From Allen's own pen we know nothing. He was a man who had ever

¹ The Rev. Anthony Martin had been some time at the College at Rome, before becoming a Benedictine under the name of Dom Athanasius.

studied to live in harmony with everyone : he was the peace-maker *par excellence*, and he was not likely to change in this respect at the close of his days, or to make his grievances public. Fitzherbert writes—

“ In making peace privately between those who were at variance, and settling disputes . . . he acted so prudently, moderately and skilfully, that without allowing either party to be wronged or in any way offended, he always succeeded (a thing most difficult) in securing the love of both sides.” *Vit. Alani,*
P. 93

He would use a like method in his own concerns, and would cover with a charitable veil of silence the ills he failed to remedy. Oddly enough, it is from the pen of Agazzari, who had lived for so many years in the closest and most affectionate intercourse with Allen, that we know how deep had become the severance between them. Writing to Father Persons at Madrid, on the 25th September, 1596, nearly two years after Allen's death, Agazzari, who had lately been re-instated as rector of the English College, gives an account of the recent death of three great personages in Rome, whose views on English affairs had not coincided with those of the Jesuits. These were Cardinal Toledo, vice-protector of the English, Dr. Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano, and Mr. Throckmorton. In these demises Agazzari recognises the protection of God over his Society, it being clear to him that God fights upon their side—*Deus pugnat pro causa nostra*. He refers to Cardinal Allen thus— 1594-97

Knox,
I, p. 387

“ Certainly, my father, it seems to me a great indication of the divine Majesty, and a great and visible sign of God's love towards the company, this college and the cause of England, that when human means fail He almost miraculously interposes His divine hand. So long as Allen walked aright in this matter, in union with and fidelity to the Company, as he used to do, God preserved, prospered and exalted him ; but when he began to leave this path, in a moment the thread of his plans and life were cut short together.”

What were the plans so suddenly cut short we know not ; but there are indications that the Cardinal, and the Pope also, had some thought of replacing the Jesuit rulers of the English College by secular superiors. The repeated invitations by Cardinal Aldobrandini in the Pope's name, to Dr. Thomas

Stapleton, one of Allen's earliest and best professors at Douay and Rheims, to come from Louvain to Rome, indicate that the post might have been offered to him. In an audience accorded to Dr. Barret by Clement VIII in September, 1596, as reported by Barret to Father Persons, the Pope asked, "Would the whole world perish if the Society relinquished the government of the college? Would Stapleton not come if I sent for him?" Barret hastened to reply that Stapleton was an old man, that his position at Louvain was an excellent one, and that he was entirely wrapped up in his studies. From Stapleton's own letters to his friend Thomas Harley, in January, 1597, and to Father Persons, we see his reluctance to leave Louvain, and his final determination to comply with the Pope's wishes. He prepared to start for Rome in the month of August, but illness, or some other cause, preventing him, he remained at Louvain, where he died on the 12th October of the following year.¹

We have seen with what high hopes Allen had sought and welcomed the introduction of the Jesuits in the English mission, and with what joy he had beheld the extraordinary success of Campion's and Persons' campaign in that country. We can, therefore, judge of the disappointment with which he wrote, at the end of 1593—"The Jesuits are now unpopular in England, but Capucins might be sent."²

After the Armada, a strong reaction had set in among the secular clergy in England. They were generally in ignorance of what had been going on, and were shocked at discovering those designs of "blood and force"—the failure of which they,

¹ Dr. Stapleton was in his sixty-third year, having been born in 1535 at Henfield, in Sussex. He was professor of divinity at Douay University, where he completed his D.D. degree in 1571. After a trial of Jesuit novitiate, he returned to Douay, and in 1590 was appointed to the chair of Holy Scriptures at Louvain, to which was annexed a canonry of St. Peter. The deanery of Hilverenburg was afterwards added. Wood calls him "the most learned Roman Catholic of all his time." In 1597 Pope Clement VIII offered him the post of protonotary-apostolic. After Cardinal Allen's death, there were strong rumours that Dr. Stapleton would be raised to the purple as Cardinal of England.

² *Simancas : Billetti del Card. Allen*, L, 961, f 2.

above all men, would be called upon to expiate. About forty missionary priests, Dodd tells us, were publicly executed in divers parts of the country ;¹ the labours of all were hampered, and their sufferings increased in consequence of a policy generally recognised as that of the Jesuits, in opposition to their own, which was one of loyalty to the crown, and the quiet and unobtrusive pursuance of their spiritual office. The bold advertisement of Father Campion and Father Persons had indeed brought down upon themselves proclamation after proclamation from Elizabeth ; but the first had died a martyr's death, the second had escaped, and two or three alone remained to share the increased perils of their hundreds of secular brethren. There was considerable excuse, therefore, for the strong terms made use of by the "appellant clergy" in their appeal to the Pope in 1601. After complaining that Persons had "fled from the mission like a dastardly soldier, consulting his own safety," they declare—"He intrepidly conducts his operations, and we, whom the press of battle threatens, innocent of any crime and ignorant of his dangerous machinations, undergo the punishment which his imprudence and audacity alone merit."²

The Queen's proclamation in 1591, had been answered by Father Persons, under the name of Andreas Philopater, in one of those violent and reprehensible publications, which furnished the Government with but too plausible a pretext for questioning the loyalty of the Catholics ; while the seculars complained that from their first arrival in England, the Jesuits had so acted as to provoke the Queen and the magistrates to rigours previously unheard of ; at the same time interfering unduly with the government of the clergy. Father Jasper Heywood, who had taken the place of Persons in 1581, was complained of as having conducted himself "like a legate, *a latere*, of the holy see," and having taken upon himself to convoke a quasi-provincial synod in 1581.

¹ Tierney's *Dodd*, Vol. III, p. 26.

² Berington's *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 23. Thos. Graves Law: *Conflicts of Jesuits and Seculars in the reign of Elizabeth*, Intro., pp. xxii, xxiii.

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To seek a remedy for these grievances, the secular clergy in 1593, determined to send a delegate to Rome to lay their case before Cardinal Allen. They chose as their representative the Rev. John Mush, who, strangely enough, had been one of the leaders of the rebellion in the English College in Rome against the first rector, Maurice Clenock, and who had most actively agitated for the appointment of a Jesuit rector. He had laboured long and arduously on the English mission, being remarkable for his prudence and peaceableness. Cardinal Allen esteemed him highly, and gave him authority to grant or sub-delegate faculties, a privilege possessed by none of his brethren, except, perhaps, by his friend John Colleton.¹ Mush possessed the confidence of his brethren, and departed on his mission to Rome, where he remained for several months in constant communication with Cardinal Allen. On his departure in March, 1594, Allen gave him a letter, dated the 16th of that month, summarising the substance of their conversations. It is the last letter, except a short Latin letter to the Archbishop Elector of Cologne, which we have from his pen. With his usual cordial and expansive affectionateness, he first condoles with his loving brethren and children in their suffering and perils, and congratulates them on their constancy and zeal. He then attacks the two special points of John Mush's mission, and bids them to beware above all things—

Knox,
II, p. 356

“Of partialities, differences, discussions, discord, emulation and discontentment of one towards another, of old against young, secular against religious, priests against the Jesuits. All which come *ex malo et ex inimico homine*,² who soweth amongst their manifold graces and virtues these seeds of his darnell (*sic*) to make their happie labours voide of merit and profit. Such things be

¹ John Mush [1551-1612-13 ?] was a Yorkshireman, and returned to his own county as a priest in 1583. He was the director of B. Margaret Clitheroe (pressed to death at York), and wrote an admirable account of her life and martyrdom. In 1584 he was seized with another priest and their host, Mr. R. Langley, at Grimsthorpe, and carried to York, where he was condemned to death. The same night he and two other priests escaped from prison. He continued to labour in Yorkshire until 1593, and in his later years resided in the south of England.

² *Matt.* xiii, 28.

of the Apostle numbered among *opera carnis* ; as peace, concord, ¹⁵⁹⁴ mutual love and unanimetie be the workes of the Spirit, fruits of charitie and evident works of God's grace."

The avoidance of strife, the cultivation of charity and concord having been insisted upon, the Cardinal expresses his great grief at the want of good correspondence between the secular priests and the Jesuits. However it arose, or by what human infirmity it continueth, it is of the enemy—

"And is with all possible discretion and diligence by the wiser sorte on both sides to be rooted out, or else it will be the ruin of the whole cause and destruction of both partes : *qui, si invicem mordeant, invicem consumentur.*"

He bids Mr. Mush be earnest and peremptory on the point—

"Tell them I charge and adjure them by the blessed blood and bowells of God's mercye that they honour, love and esteem one another . . . that those of the secular order, and especially all those that have been brought up under the fathers, and found so great love and charitie in all places at their hands, that they be correspondent in all gratitude and thankfulness . . . and the fathers on the other side to love, cherish, favour and embrace all the seculars as their owne bowells, life and soule, and as their dearest fellowe-souldiers, brethren and children. My good friend, inculcate in my name, yea rather in God's behalf, to both sides this point, least they lose all and bring my grey hairs the sooner to the grave."

Allen then commends the maintenance of Douay College to the English Catholics—"The decay whereof would rejoyce the enemy much . . . and would be followed by the fall of all other colleges erected for our nation abroad." All other things they have talked of he recommends to Mush's memory.¹

While Cardinal Allen was writing the above grave and prophetic words, Father Persons was preparing in Spain, under the name of R. Doleman, fresh fuel for the fires of discord in his *Conference upon the next Succession*, dedicated to the Earl of Essex, published in 1594. A more provocative work could not easily have been addressed to the English

¹ The above letter, addressed equally to both contending parties, is endorsed in F. Persons' hand : "The letter of Cardl. Allen to Mr. Mush agaynst the faction raised agaynst the Jesuites."

Government, or one more dangerous to the peace and concord for which William Allen was praying: a book which Dr. Gifford, afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, denounced as "the most pestilential ever made."

The book is divided into two parts, the first setting forth by many arguments and proofs that propinquity or ancestry of blood alone is not sufficient to entitle a person to the throne, and that on the score of religion the rightful heir may be set aside. The second point examines the pretensions of all the claimants to the English succession and maintains that of the Infanta Isabel, through her descent from John of Gaunt.¹

Father Persons was violently attacked, by none more fiercely than by William Watson, a secular priest at that time in the custody of the Bishop of London, by whose means and cognisance, if not supervision, his *Sparing Discovery*, published in 1601, and *Decacordon*, in 1602, were printed. In the first book the "folly of those Fathers" is denounced, who "think they can play tennis with kingdoms." The old saying is recalled—let the shoemaker meddle with his slipper, and priests with their prayers; but nowadays—"He is not worth a rush amongst them that is not able to manage a kingdom; matters of state, titles of princes . . . rights of succession, disposing of scepters, and such affairs, are their chief studies."²

Unfortunately, the book was introduced into the English College in Rome, and in an instant rekindled the flames. The discontented students, encouraged, it was said, by Cardinal Mondevi, protector of the Scotch, ranged themselves under the banners of the Scottish party; the grievances, real or imaginary, were exaggerated: the opposition of the other party denounced as tyranny, and a demand was made for the recall of the Fathers from the English mission, for their removal

¹ The *Conference upon the Next Succession* was republished in 1681 by the enemies of James, Duke of York, to support their attempts to put him out of the succession on account of his religion.

² William Watson [1559-1603], educated at Rheims, and sent on the English mission in 1586. He was himself involved in 1603 in a plot to seize James I, and was hanged at Winchester on the 9th December.

from the government of the college, and for an alteration in ¹⁵⁹⁴ many of the principal rules of the establishment.

Religion was the main object of both the fiercely contending ¹⁵⁹⁴⁻⁵ parties ; but the means had by now become essentially political, and political feelings produced political violence in lieu of the tranquillity and concord so necessary for the suffering Catholics of England. The pity of it : like mildew and blight the influence spread, stifling the good seed, raising strange fantastic growths, until diseased imaginations—trimmed and guided by the second Burghley—concocted the unholy gunpowder plot : until the cruel and bewildering archpriest controversy finally rent the distracted Church in twain, in the open schism under James's reign. When, in 1612, Cardinal Borghese, by order of Paul V, wrote to Monsignor Ubaldini, nuncio in Paris, as to the expediency of appointing bishops in England, one of the chief reasons given against the measure was the lack of concord among the Catholics of that country, "especially among the priests, *tra gli ecclesiastici specialmente.*"¹

Though these results were no doubt becoming clear to Cardinal Allen, and the premonition of what was to come saddened his closing days, he never seems to have wavered for a moment in the belief that through Spain alone could salvation come to England ; while his Spanish proclivities moved him to intense distrust of Henry of Navarre. When the news reached Rome, in 1593, of that monarch's abjuration of Calvinism, Allen drew up a strong paper of reasons for believing his conversion to be fictitious ; and declaring that the absolution accorded him was null, the Pope alone having the power to judge his cause ; having once made himself master of France, Henry would probably return to his former errors, and despite the number and the power of the Catholics, he might oppress religion.² Happily for France and for the peace of Europe, Clement VIII thought differently ; he considered it his duty to brave the selfish hostility of Spain by acknowledging the legitimate claims of Henry IV, and, as

¹ Vatican Archives, *Cod. Angel*, S.C. 16, Tom : x, f. 138. Bellesheim's *Allen*, p. 281.

² *Ibid.* : *Arm.* IV, Cap. 1, No. 8. Bellesheim, p. 279.

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soon as he had convinced himself that his conversion was not a mere political manoeuvre, he solemnly absolved him in the autumn of 1595, thus putting an end to the thirty years' religious strife in France, and winning a powerful ally in his struggle to achieve the independence of Italy and the Holy See. In 1598, the Pope brought about peace between Spain and France in the treaty of Vervins.¹

While Father Persons was pursuing his untoward political campaign, great numbers of other Jesuits, truer sons of their great founder, and more observant of his desire that they should not meddle with politics, were carrying on the spiritual warfare which produced such wonderful and happy results—enforcing the decrees of Trent, evangelising the nations.

And in England, before the end of Elizabeth's career, the holy Jesuit and rare poet, Robert Southwell, and Henry Walpole, having wrought in as purely spiritual a struggle as that in which their predecessor, Edmund Campion, had laboured, died like him upon the scaffold in like sentiments of loyalty to the crown and fidelity to their sovereign.

Cardinal Allen was not called upon to witness the later occurrences and developments of English affairs. The occasional return of the painful malady which had brought him

¹ A letter preserved in the English College at Valladolid [H. 4, 3], written under the initials B. S. and addressed to some person unknown, purports to give Cardinal Allen's opinion and high approval of Persons' book on the *Next Succession*. It is dated 1st May, 1596, a year and a half after Allen's death, and is entitled *The Censure of Cardinal Allen touching the Succession of England*. According to the writer, the Cardinal had read the book more than once, and "liked the same exceedingly well." Secondly, Allen had studied the subject with the intention of writing a discourse thereof himself, "if he had not been prevented by this other book, which did so much content and satisfy him, as presently he left off that cogitation, and sent all his papers, or the most part thereof, before his death to Father Persons . . . doubting somewhat whether the time . . . were fit or no to let the book go abroad," etc. Father Creighton, writing to Persons on the subject in 1596, says that he cannot tell what good was expected by the publication of the book: he can only speak of the mischief it has done. He recalls the French proverb that you "cannot catch rabbits by beat of drum"; and declares that in Scotland, as in England, the pulpits are resounding with the denunciations of the Protestant ministers. (*Knox*, II, p. 384.)

to death's door in 1585 warned him some time before he died ¹⁵⁹⁴⁻⁹ that the end was near. He often spoke of it to his friends, ^{Vit. Alani, p. 93} and as if he looked forward with joy to his departure. Fitzherbert says—

“He died, fortified with all the aids of religion, and with such ^{ibid., p. 96} alacrity of soul, constancy, and tranquillity, as to console all the bystanders, while he himself needed no consolation.”

His death took place in the morning after sunrise on the ¹⁵⁹⁴ sixteenth day of his illness, 16th October, 1594.

Eight days later, the Duke of Sesa, Spanish ambassador in ^{Knox, II, p. 362} Rome, wrote an account of his last illness to Philip II. He relates how the Pope in his anxiety, had sent his private chamberlain, Diego de Campo, several times to visit the dying Cardinal, and, knowing his circumstances, had given him 500 golden *scudi* for the doctors. The Cardinal, in returning thanks, said he hoped, if he deserved to see God, to repay his Holiness by his prayers, for in this world he knew not how to do so. Referring to the memoir he had sent on the subject of Henry IV's abjuration, he begged de Campo to tell the Pope that as he was hourly expecting death, his Holiness might rest assured that no human respect had prompted him, but a pure desire for the service of God and the Church, and his own large experience with heretics.

Sesa had visited him several times during his last illness, and two or three days before his death had seen him alone, when Allen had expressed his regret at having come to his end without having been able to fulfil his Majesty's design of sending him to Flanders, where he might have been of some use to the good Catholics, whom he prayed the King never to abandon. He died in the confident belief, that through the crown of Spain, the kingdom of England would return to the obedience of the Holy See; “and as a sign of his belief,” writes Sesa—

“He has bequeathed, in his last testament, certain ornaments of small value in his chapel to the church of the parish where he was born, when it shall become Catholic again; and meanwhile they are to remain in the English College, where he desires to be buried.”

Allen's great trouble was that he died in debt, and he petitions Philip II through Sesa, to attribute the 4,000 ducats

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which were to have served for his journey to Flanders, to the payment of his creditors. His relatives and his servants, some of the latter men of quality and all of whom have suffered for religion, he commends to the charity of the king; his nephew Thomas Hesketh [who afterwards took the name of Allen], his brother, Gabriel Allen, and his kinsman and chamberlain, Richard Haydock, all three members of his household, are mentioned, with the slender provision he has been able to make for each; and the ambassador ends his letter by quoting the last words of the great Cardinal—the expression of his greatest sorrow in that he, who by God's mercy had been able to persuade so many to suffer prisons, persecution and martyrdom, should himself, for his sins, have to die in his bed.

“His death is much felt by the Pope and the whole College of Cardinals, for he was greatly esteemed for his great virtues and good parts. May God grant him Heaven, and ever preserve your Majesty's Catholic person.”¹

Knox,
II, p. 364

Allen was buried, as was fitting, in the chapel of the English College, and his funeral oration, as was also fitting, was pronounced by Francis Tregian, eldest son of Francis Tregian, of Golden, near Truro, still suffering in prison and despoiled of his vast estates for the harbouring of Cuthbert Mayne, Douay's proto-martyr.²

At the close of his eloquent discourse, the preacher mentioned how Allen's portrait had been hacked, defaced and burned by his enemies at the sacking of his sister's house; but that the effacement of his image from the hearts of his Catholic countrymen was more than they could accomplish. That image would live undisturbed in the memory of all those who, in time to come, would be called upon to fight and suffer in the same cause.³

When Allen died, there was no one to take his place. Owen

¹ See Appendix J.

² Francis Tregian, the younger, had evidently a reputation for eloquence, as he had been chosen, when a student at Rheims, to pronounce the complimentary address, on behalf of the community, to Monsignor Sega, Bishop of Piacenza, in August, 1591. Tregian finally returned to England, and died a prisoner in the Fleet in 1619.

³ See Appendix K.

Lewis, Bishop of Cassano, was destined by Clement VIII for ¹⁵⁹⁴⁻⁵ the high office of Cardinal of England, but he died a few months after Allen. Stapleton, too, was thought of by the Pope, but, as we have seen, illness and death overtook him before he could leave Louvain. Though some were urgent to press the claims of Father Persons, the place was never filled ; for though the need of a successor was felt by all, at the same time all acknowledged that there was no one fully fitted to succeed Cardinal Allen. In the words of Dr. Pitts, written many years later—

“ All we who suffer persecution for the faith still mourn the death of this most excellent man, and as orphans we feel more and more every day that we have lost our common father.” <sup>*Pitseus,*
p. 794</sup>

The days of persecution are passed, and none of William Allen's countrymen have any longer cause to mourn his death. All may, perhaps, be ready to give a meed of respect, if not of praise, to a great Englishman, who saved from utter wreck the remnants of the ancient faith, and left a great heritage behind him.

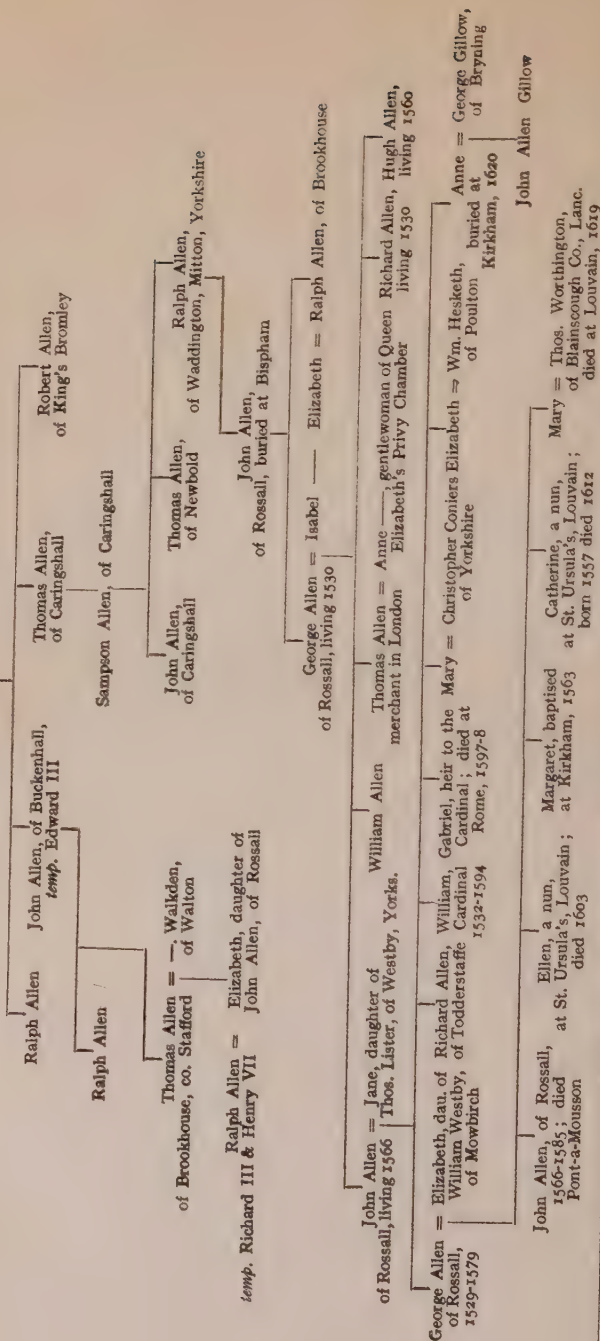


APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

ALLEN, OF BUCKENHALL, IN THE COUNTY OF STAFFORD,¹ AND ROSSALL, IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.
(Authorities: Dugdale's *Visitatio*, *Wills*, *Records*, etc.)

HENRY ALLEN, OF BUCKENHALL



¹ *History of the Parish of Poulton-le-Fylde, in the Co. of Lancaster*, by Henry Fishwick, F.S.A.; printed for the Chetham Society, 1885.

APPENDIX B

THE PENAL LAWS. FIRST ELIZABETH, 1559

CAP. I. All Ecclesiastical persons, judges, and all persons having Fee or Wages from the Crown, who refuse to take the Oath of Supremacy shall "Forfeit all their Ecclesiastical and Temporal Preferments and Promotions."

The Queen was content to exempt the lords and barons "absolutely from the oath (as they in King Edward VI's time had exempted themselves) and to leave the Rigor of it, only upon the Clergy and Commons." *Jerusalem and Babel*, p. 438.

Any person who shall maintain the Power or jurisdiction of any Foreign Prelate or Potentate, "Forfeits all his Goods and Chattels; and if he be not worth £20, shall forfeit all the Goods that he hath, and suffer one Year's Imprisonment, without Bail."

The second offence: A Praemunire.

The third offence: High Treason.

CAP. II. The Act of Uniformity of Worship.

Every Minister refusing to use the Service according to the Common Prayer Book, "Forfeits for the first offence, One Year's Profits of all his Spiritual Preferments, and shall suffer six months' imprisonment."

For the second offence: "Deprivation and a Year's Imprisonment." For the third: "Deprivation and Imprisonment for Life."

Persons depraving or ridiculing the said Book, or anything therein, or compelling or procuring a Minister to say any other service: "Shall forfeit for the first offence 100 marks, or suffer six months' imprisonment."

For the second offence: "400 marks, or one Year's Imprisonment."

For the third offence: "Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels, and Imprisonment for Life."

Every person not repairing to his Parish Church, or some other Church, every Sunday and Holiday, "Shall incur the Censures of the Church, and forfeit 12 pence."

APPENDIX C

ARTICLE XXIX of Queen Elizabeth's *Injunction to the Clergy and Others*, 1559.

"Because there hath grown offence, and some slander to the Church by lack of discreet and sober behaviour in many ministers

of the Church, both in chusing of their wives, and indiscreet living with them, the remedy thereof is necessary to be sought: it is thought therefore very necessary, that no manner of priest or deacon shall hereafter take to his wife any manner of woman, without the advice and allowance first had upon good examination by the bishop of the same diocese, and two justices of the peace of the same shire, dwelling next to the place where the same woman has made her most abode before her marriage: nor without the goodwill of the parents of the same woman . . . or, for lack of knowledge of such, of her master or mistress, where she serveth. . . And for the marriage of any bishops, the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of her province, and also by such commissioners as the Queen's Majesty thereunto shall appoint.

Article XXX Her Majesty . . . willet and commandeth, that all archbishops and bishops, and all others . . . shall use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of Edward VI. *Wilkins: Concilia IV*, pp. 185, 186.

APPENDIX D

LIST of Catholic Noblemen and others in England, furnished to Pope St. Pius V at the end of the year 1567.—*Roman Transcripts*.

Catholics

Marquis of Winchester.

Earl Lennox.

Earl of Derby (as prudent as powerful).

Earl of Arundel.

Earl of Pembroke.

Earl of Northumberland.

Earl of Westmoreland.

Earl of Cumberland.

Earl of Southampton.

Earl of Shrewsbury.

Viscount Montague.

Lord Dacres of the North.

Lord Latimer.

Lord Windsor.

Lord Dudley.

Lord Monteagle.

Lord Lumley.

Lord Rich.

Lord Basing.

Lord Loughborough.

Lord Willoughby.

Lord Wharton.

Lord Audley.

Lord Morley.

Lord Vane.

Lord Paget.

Lord Buckhurst.

Lord Harbord.

Lord Talbot.

Lord Paulet.

Lord Mordaunt.

Noblemen favourable to the Catholics

The Duke of Norfolk.	
Earl of Sussex, ambassador to the Emperor.	
Robert, Earl of Leicester.	Lord Stafford.
Earl of Rutland.	Lord Chandos.
Earl of Oxford.	Lord Cobham.
Viscount Hereford.	Lord Sandys.
Lord Strange.	Lord Powis.
Lord Abergavenny.	Lord Berkeley.
Lord Dacres of the South.	Lord Burroughs (?).
Lord Effingham.	Lord Darcy of the South.
Lord William Howard.	

Protestants

Marquis of Northampton.	
Earl of Hertford, descended from Mary, sister of Henry VIII pretends to the succession.	
Earl of Huntington, pretends to the succession through the family of Edward IV, of York.	
Earl of Bedford.	Lord Scrope.
Earl of Warwick.	Lord Sheffield.
Lord Clinton, Admiral.	Lord North.
Lord Mountjoy.	Lord Hunsdon.
Lord Wentworth.	Lord St. John of Bletso.
Lord Grey.	Lord Ivors (<i>sic</i>).

APPENDIX E

PROCLAMATION of the leaders of the Rising in the North, 1569.

"We, Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles, Earl of Westmoreland, the Queen's true and faithful subjects, to all the same of the old Catholic faith. Know ye, that we, with many other well-disposed persons, as well of the nobility, as others, have promised our faiths, in the furtherance of this our good meaning.

"Forasmuch as divers disordered and evil-disposed persons, about the Queen's majesty, have, by their subtle and crafty dealing to advance themselves, overcome, in this our realm, the true and Catholic religion towards God, and by the same abused the Queen, disordered the realm, and now, lastly, seek and procure the destruction of the nobility. We, therefore, have gathered ourselves together, to exist by force; and the rather by the help of God and you, good people; and to see redress of these things amiss, with restoring of all ancient customs and liberties to God's church, and this noble realm; lest, if we should not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by strangers, to the great hazard of the state of this our country whereunto we are all bound." *Strype: Annal* i, 583, Tierney's *Dodd*, iii, p. 7.

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONS concerning the bull of St. Pius V against Queen Elizabeth.

Answers: 3. Nullus tenetur obedire excommunicationi et praecepto cum gravi suo damno, et incommodo vitae 4 Quia praeceptum et obligatio videntur posita pro loco et tempore dumtaxat, quibus spes esset recuperationis illius Regni ea via et modo. Cum ergo talis occasio evanuerit, et spes sit frustrata, et ea via omnino interclusa, consequitur tempus illius praecepti praeteriisse, et obligationem proinde cessare.

4. *Catholics may obey Elizabeth* in civilibus et cooperari in omnibus quae justa sunt.

6. Licet eam vocare Reginam quia tituli illi intelligendi sunt esse et dici tales, quales ipsi sunt.

10. Non licet privato quemcunque Tyrannum occidere ut definitum est in Conc. Constant. sess 15, nisi talis esset, qui vi regnum invasisset exemplo.

APPENDIX G

LIST of English exiles, about the year 1575, *P.R.O. Dom. Elizabeth*, Vol. 105, v. 10.

"(1) The Countess of Northumberlande hath by the monneth from the Kinge of Spayne 30 crowns.

"Item, she hath out of the Queen of Skott's dowry out of France by the monneth 30 crowns.

"Her abode is at Bruselles. Thomas Taylor, Peter Kinck, which was the Erles baylif, Mr. Higheton, who was the Erles secretary, doo serve her, and one Arthur Goodchilde, which Arthur is oft sent into England unto the Countess her frends to witt the 29th of November last. Item ther is with her Mr. Thwinge. For gentlewomen which waite uppon her are Mrs. Lassells, Mrs. Markenfelde, Mrs. Twyne. Doctour Knott is her chiefe Councillor. John Stekens, John Candeler, Robert Woodde, John Moore, whose father is gonne into Spayne for pension are with the Countesse.

"(2) The Erle of Westmoreland hath by monneth 50 crownes; his abode is at Louvain.

"(3) Edward Dacres, whome they papists do calle Lord Dacres, and remayneth at Namour, hath by the monneth. . . .

His brother Leonard Dacres died at Bruscelles the 12th of August, 1573, and lieth bureyed at St. Nicholas. He hath upon his tumble this epitaphe with his armes: 'Hic sepultus est illusmus Baro, D Leonardus de Dacres, antiquissima Baronum Angliae familia oriundus, Baro de Dacres, de Gils, Andebroughe, de Barton, de

Graystocre, de Morpett, de Hinderskelte et de Wembe
 iniqua morte ab ipsa Elizabetha R. oppressus primo in Scotiam,
 postea in Belgium recedere est coactus. Tandem duodecima
 Augusti, 1573, hic calidissima febre absumptus mortem obiit glo-
 riosam ; verae potius nobilitatis [esse] existimans hic gloriose in
 fide catholica mori quam in sua Anglia in schismate nefando vivere.
 Ora pro eo.'

"(4) Sir Francis Ingelfeld, knight, abideth commonly in
 Bruxelles : sometimes he is at Machlin. He hath his owld pension
 still, which he had beinge councillor in Queen Marie's tyme, of the
 K. of Spayne by monneth. . . .

"He rideth allwayes with 4 good horse.

"(5) Richard Norton is gone into Spayne, and from thence as
 somme saye to Rome : both for him and one of his sones, Francis,
 by monneth. . . .

"(6) Another of the Nortons [George] hath by the monneth at
 Bruxelles. . . .

"(7) Christopher Nevel, the Erle of Westmoreland's ounce,
 both by the monneth 30 cr.

"(8) His elder brother killed himselfe with a pistolet, and muche
 a doo ther was to have him burried.

"(9) John Nevel and his wife are at Bruxelles, and hath by
 monneth 30 crowns."

There are twenty-eight numbered entries, followed by a consider-
 able further number of names, among which we find :—

"Stappleton and Doctor Hall, with Dr. Allen are at. . . ."

No. (21) reads as follows :—"Egremont Ratcliff had
 first here by the monneth 30 crownes, but havinge slayne a man
 was compelled to flye the lowe countries, and travelinge into Spayne
 gott his pardon there of the Kinge, and was sent to Millayne
 [Milan], where he had 40 crownes by the monneth ; but having
 killed there two other was compelled to retourne from thence
 hath obtayned a letter from the K. to the gouvernour here to have
 owld pension of 30 crownes."

APPENDIX H

AFTER a short preface, the *Admonition to the Nobility and People*
 undertakes to show : (1) Of whom and in what manner Elizabeth
 is descended ; (2) How intruded into the royal dignity ; (3) How
 she has behaved at home and abroad ; (4) By what laws of God
 and man her punishment is pursued ; (5) How just, honest, and
 necessary causes all true Englishmen have to embrace and set
 forward the same.

" (1) She is a bastard, the daughter of Henry VIII, by his incestuous commerce with Anne Boleyn.

" (2) She was intruded by force, unjustly deposing the lords of the clergy, without whom no lawful parliament could be held and without any approbation of the See of Rome, contrary to the accord by King John. . . .

" (3) As to her behaviour, she has professed herself a heretic. She usurpeth, by Luciferian pride, the title of supreme ecclesiastical government, a thing in a woman unheard of, not tolerable to the masters of her own sect, and to all Catholics in the world most ridiculous and a very fable to posterity.

" She is taken and known for an incestuous bastard born in sin of an infamous courtezan [whom] her father kept by pretended marriage in the life of his lawful wife, as he did before unnaturally know and kepe both the said Anne's mother and sister.

" She is guilty of perjury in violating her coronation oath.

" She hath abolished the Catholic religion—profaned the sacraments impiously spoiled the churches, deposed and imprisoned the bishops. . . .

" She hath destroyed most of the ancient nobility. . . .

" She hath raised a new nobility of men base and impure, inflamed with infinite avarice and ambition.

" She hath intruded a new clergy of the very refuse of the worst sort of mortal men.

" She hath made the country a place of refuge for atheists, anabaptists and rebels of all nations.

" She hath polled the people, not only by more frequent and large subsidies but by sundry shameful guiles of lotteries falls of money, and such like deceits.

" She sells laws, licences, dispensations, pardons, etc., for money and bribes, with which she enriches her poor cousins and favourites. Among the latter is Leicester, whom she took first to satisfy her filthy lust, whereof he caused his own wife to be murdered. . . . This man over-ruleth the chamber, court, council, parliament and all the country.

" With the aforesaid person, and with divers others, she hath abused her body against God's lawes, to the disgrace of princely majestie and the whole nation's reproche hath made her court as a traffic to entangle and overthrowe the younger sorte of the nobilitye and gentlemen of the lande; wherebye she is become notorious to the worlde, and in other cuntryes a common fable which in so highe degree, namely in a woman and a queene, deserveth not only deposition, but all vengeance, both of God and man. . . .

"She does not marry, because she cannot confine herself to one man . . . she forced the very parliament to give consent to a law, that none should be named for her successor, savinge the natural, that is to saie, bastard-borne child of her own bodie. . . .

"She conferates with rebels of all nations, and is known to be the first and principal fountain of all those furious rebellions in Scotland, France and Flandres . . . and hath sought to destroy the persons of the Pope's holiness and the King of Spain.

"She is excessively proud, obstinate and impenitent. . . .

"She hath murdered bishops, and priests, and the Queen of Scots."

"(4) . . . Her perseverance in sin, her persecution of the Catholics, and her aiding of rebels, have induced Sixtus V, to entreat Philip of Spain, to take upon him this sacred and glorious enterprise."

Lingard's History of England, Vol. VI. Appendix W.W.

The writer compares the Queen to Nero, and after giving many instances of the lawful deposition of kings, declares that neither the conquest of the land, the dispossession of the English "or abolishing of old laws, liberties or customs is proposed. . . . Assuring you all (my most deare countrymen) by my honor, and in the worde of a Cardinall, that there shall be as great care had of every Catholic and penitent person, as possibly can be; for that is the Pope and King's express will and pleasure. . . . And for the same cause, his Holiness hath also, not for my deserts, but of speciall care and love of our nation preferred me, being of your flesh and blud, to this high function; intending to send me as his Legato, with full commission . . . to treat and deal . . . as well with the states of the realme, as with his Holyness, and the King's majestie for the sweeter managing of this godly and great affair. . . .

"Therefore . . . his Holyness confirmeth . . . and reneweth the sentence of Pius V of blessed memory . . . against the said Elizabeth . . . and dischargeth all men from all othe, obedience, lealty, and fidelity towards her; requiring . . . and commanding under pain of excommunication . . . that no man . . . so ever obey . . . or acknowledge her for their prince or superior, but that all and everyone . . . immediately upon intelligence . . . by these my letters, or otherwise, or at the arrivall of his Catholic Majestie's forces, be ready, to join to the said army with all the powers and aides they can make . . . to help towards the restoring of the Catholic religion, and actual deposing of the usurper

"Thus much, my good lords and most deare friends, I have thought good to forewarn you. . . . I could give you farr more comfortable intelligence, if I were personally present with you, as I trust I shall be verie shortly . . . of me so desired, that every shorte daye seemeth a longe yeare, till I enjoy you in our Lord,

though in the meantime I stand here wholly for your service. . . .
From my lodgings in the Palace of St. Peter in Rome this 28 of
April, 1588. The Cardinall."

APPENDIX I

CARDINAL ALLEN'S Will is in the Archives of Simancas : *Est. Leg.* 963. The executors are Cardinals Castani, Montalto and Aldobrandini. After legacies to his relatives and friends, Allen bequeathes the ornaments of his chapel to St. Michaels-le-Wyne, mother church of Poulton, the parochial church of Rossall, from which it is about four miles distant :—*si regnum Angliæ ad fidem catholicam revertatur.*

Lists of the Cardinal's family and of the members of his household are also at Simancas. Gabriel Allen, his sole surviving brother, and unmarried, is mentioned as his heir. Thomas Hesketh, son of Allen's sister, Elizabeth, and who afterwards took the name of Allen, is a priest, and has a pension of 700 golden *scudi* on the late Cardinal's abbey at Capua, and on the church of Pavia, but there are difficulties owing to the *jus patronatus* of the Duke of Traietto.

(1) Richard Haydock, a priest, *maestro di Camera* of the late Cardinal, nephew of his sister-in-law. He was a student of the English College in Rome, and spent many years secretly in England and in Ireland in the service of the Catholic faith.

(2) John Byas, servant. [He had been Dr. Allen's servant at Rheims and went with him to Rome.] He is now at Milan on his way to Flanders for change of air is a good young layman, a good musician and very poor.

(3) Ludovico Gualtieri, chamberlain and servant before the Cardinal's elevation. Born in Rome of an English father and a Roman mother ; excellent and very poor : a good youth and serves well.

(4) Nicholas Fitzherbert, scribe and servant from the beginning of the Cardinalate. Of noble birth ; very worthy ; whose parents have suffered greatly for the faith. A priest and has been seven years in the Cardinal's service to whom he was most dear he had a pension from Pope Gregory XIII, of happy memory, of ten golden *scudi* a month as a student. His father died in prison after twenty-six years' captivity for the faith, and his uncle also for the same cause after thirty-two years of continued imprisonment.

(5) Roger Baynes, English Secretary and servant since the beginning of the Cardinalate. A polished gentleman ; serves well ; has been in exile many years for the faith ; has a pension of 100 *scudi* a year, and through his hands passed all the Cardinal's correspondence with England, France, and Flanders.

(6) William Warmington, a priest, steward and servant since the beginning of the Cardinalate : was a student of the college,

and afterwards banished from England for the faith ; is pious and of good life ; does not wish to enter service again, if he can find the means to live poorly in the service of God.

(7) Giovanni Smazzone (?) groom of the stole, a noble layman : has suffered much in England for the faith : had served the father of Cardinal Sfondrato, who has already taken him into his service.

(8) William Warton, shoemaker and servant a good youth, quiet and very poor.

(9) Mr. Lewis Hughes, a priest servant for the past four or five years. A good priest, imprisoned in England for the faith and afterwards banished ; and wishes to return there ; educated at Rheims.

(10) Thomas Honley, Chaplain, had only served a few months. Banished from England : was a scholar at Rheims and has a small benefice in the diocese of Milan.

(11) Francis Tregian, chamberlain, had served two years. Very noble, twenty years of age, a secular, of great talent, learned in philosophy, in music and in the Latin tongue. . . .

(12) Nicholas Baldwin, chamberlain and had two years' service.

(13) Christopher Ysamo [Ysam], newly admitted into the Cardinal's service. An excellent gentleman about forty years of age. Has a son a student of the English College in Rome, and another son at Douay very poor has other children in England, where he has lost his estates and all his possessions for the faith, and particularly for having, under colour of traffic with France, convoyed priests from the colleges of Rome, France and Flanders into England and harboured them there.

William Bostock, groom, John Harrison.

C. Pettitt and Thos. Madder, servants of Mr. Gabriel [Allen].

Christopher Cossin, servant of Mr. Thomas [Hesketh].

Besides the above, there are two in Flanders lately sent by the Cardinal.

William Gifford, D.D., very noble and learned ; theologian to the Cardinal ; student of English College in Rome, and subsequently lecturer of philosophy for many years in the College at Rheims ; a man of great value and merit, and has nothing to live upon.

Thachiero [Thacker ?], a noble young layman, chamberlain, sent into Flanders on account of his health at the Cardinal's expense ; a beautiful youth of twenty-two, and of angelical life.

All the above are Englishmen. *Knox II*, pp. 372-377.

An annexed inventory of the Cardinal's debts shows that of a total of 7,000 *scudi*, only 2,000 were personal debts, contracted at Rome, the rest were for the English College at Rheims, and for the maintenance of his exiled relatives.

APPENDIX K

THE following is the epitaph inscribed on Cardinal Allen's tomb in the Chapel of the English College in Rome—

Deo Trino et Uni
 Guglielmo Alano
 Lancastriensi.
 S.R.E. Praes. Card. Angliae
 Qui extorris a patria,
 Perfunctus laboribus diuturnis,
 In orthodoxa religione tuenda
 Sudoribus multis, in seminariis
 Ad salutem patriae instituendis, ferendis periculis plurimis,
 Ob Eccle. Rom. opere, scriptis,
 Omni corporis et animi contentione
 Defensam, hic in ejus gremio,
 Scientiae, pietatis, modestiae,
 Integritatis fama et exemplo clarus,
 Ac piis omnibus charus, occubuit
 XVII: Kal. Novemb. anno
 Aetat: LXIII, exilii xxxiii,
 Inter lacrymas exulum pro religione
 Civium, perpetuum illorum effugium,
 Gabriel Alanus frater,
 Thomas Heschetus, Sororis filius,
 Fratri, Avunculo Chariss.
 Optimeque merito
 Moerentes posuerunt.

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(By Joseph Gillow)

1. *Certain Brief Reasons concerning Catholic Faith.* Douay, 1564.

Written whilst residing with the Duke of Norfolk's family in the county of Norfolk. Afterwards enlarged and published at Douay.

2. *A Defence and Declaration of the Catholike Churchies Doctrine, touching Purgatory, and prayers for the soules departed,* by William Allen, Master of Arte and student in Divinitye. Antwerp, John Latius, 1565, 12 mo., ff. 289 inclusive of title, and at end, "The Argumentes of every chapter of bothe the Bookes," Oo. 2-7 (6 ff.), approbations dated March, 1564. The first Book bears the running title, "A Defense of Purgatory, etc.;" and the second, "Of Prayer for the Soules Departed." The latter was re-edited by Fr. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R., under the title—"Souls Departed: Being a Defence and Declaration of the Catholic Church's Doctrine touching Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead. By Cardinal Allen." London, Burns & Oates, 1886, sm. 8vo, pp. vii-402, with portrait.

The substance of this work had been composed three years earlier, whilst studying theology at Louvain. The book attracted so much attention that in a writ issued by the Queen, Feb. 21, 1567, to the High-Sheriff of Lancashire, for the apprehension of "certain persons who, having been late ministers in the Church, were justly deprived of their offices of ministry for their contempt and obstinacy," Allen's name heads the list under the designation—"Allen, who wrote the late booke of Purgatory."

3. *A Treatise made in Defense of the Lawfull Power and Authoritie of Preesthode to Remitte Sinnes: Of the People's Dutie for Confessienn of their Sinnes to Godes Ministers: And of the Churches meaninge concerning Indulgences, commonlie called the popes pardons.* By William Allen, Mr. of Arte, and student in divinitie. Lovani, apud Joannem, Foulerum, 1567, sm. 4to, title, To the Reader, errata, etc., 3 ff., Preface 6 ff., pp. 412, and Contents 4 ff.

Written whilst in England, between 1562-5, it elicited from Wm. Fulke, D.D., "A confutation of a treatise made by William Allen, in Defence of the usurped Power of Popish Priesthood," Camb., 16mo, and also "Two treatises written against the Papistes, the one being an answer of the Christian Protestant to the proud challenge of a Popish Catholicke," 1577, 8vo.

4. *Gulielmi Alani Angli, Regii Sacrae Theologiae Professoris in Academia Duacensi, Libri Tres. Id est, De Sacramentis in genere,*

Lib. I. De Sacramento Eucharistiae. Lib. I. De Sacrificio Eucharistiae, Lib. I. Ex vivae vocis diligenti et accurata tractatione, quem idem his de rebus contra nostri temporis Haereticos in Schola Theologorum habuit. Antverpiae, apud Johannem Foulherum Anglum, 1576, 4to, *—** in fours, A 1-16, pp. 654, and at end Index 9 ff., "Duaci, excudebat Ludovicus de Wende, cura et impensa Johannis Foulheri, 1576"; Duaci, 1603, 4to.

A work highly esteemed and made use of by Cardinal Bellarmine.

5. *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and endeavours of the two English Colleges, the one in Rome, the other now resident in Rhemes; against certaine sinister informations given up against the same.* Mounts in Henault, 1581, 8vo., A-Q 3 in eights, 122 ff., signed William Allen, and 1 f. Faultes; running title, "An Apologie of the English Seminaries."

Bolton, in his *Hypercritica*, describes the work as a "princely, grave, and flourishing piece of natural and exquisite English." It is extremely rare and valuable.

A Latin rendering of the 7th chapter, "An Admonition and comfort to the afflicted Catholics, was entitled "Piissima Admonitio, et consolatio, vera Pia ad Afflictos Catholicos in Anglia." The entire work later appeared as follows—

6. *Duo edicta Elizabethae Reginae Angliae contra Sacerdotes Societatis Jesu, et alumnos seminariorum, quae à Gregorio XIII. Pont. Max. Romae & Remis pro Anglis sunt instituta; quibus non solum illi ut perduelles proscribuntur, sed Angli omnes, qui in iisdem Collegijs vivunt revocantur: Una cum Apologia doctissimi viri D. Gulielmi Alani pro iisdem sacerdotibus societatis Jesu, & alijs seminariorum Alumnis; in qua explicantur causae institutionis praedictorum seminariorum, & cur sacerdotes Catholici in Angliam mittantur. Additur eiusdem Gulielmi Alani piissima admonitio et consolatio veri Christiana ad afflictos Catholicos Angliae.* Augustae Trevirorum, apud Edmondum Hatotum, 1583, 12mo., pp. 175 inclusive of title; repr. in Bridgewater's "Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae," 1594, pp. 243-278.

7. *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests, executed within these twelve monthes for confession and defence of the Catholike Faith. But under the false pretence of Treason. With a note of sundrie things that besel them in their life and imprisonment: and a preface declaring their innocencie. Set furth by such as were much conversant with them in their life, and present at their arraignment and death.* s.l. et a., 8vo., pp. 158, sig. a-f and A-D. in eights; repr. "With contemporary Verses by the Venerable Henry Walpole, & the earliest engravings of the Martyrdom," and edited by the Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., London, Burns & Oates, 1908, 4to., pp. xxiii-139, with frontispiece, picture of Campion, and at end the six plates of martyrdoms.

The copy of the original edition in the British Museum is possibly unique. Translated into Italian—"Historia del Glorioso Mastirio di Sedici Sacerdoti Martirizati in Inghilterra," Macerata, 1583, 12mo., with plates; Milano, 1584; "Hist. del glorioso Martirio di diciotto Sacerdoti, et un secolare," 1577-1583, transl. by a scholar at the English College at Rome, Macerata, 1585, with vignette and six plates of martyrdom.

8. *Apologia Martyrum, qua ipsorum innocentia variis rationibus demonstratur; eosque solius religionis Catholicae causa, quam susceperant propagandam & propugnandam, crudelissime enecatos fuisse.* Augustae Trevirorum, apud Edm. Hatotum, 1583, 12mo.; repr. in Bridgewater's "Concertatio," 1583 and 1594.

This and other attacks on the administration of justice in England induced Lord Burleigh to draw up, from Norton's notes, "A Declaration of the favourable dealing of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed for the examination of certain traitors, and of tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for matters of religion," 1583, 4to., 4 ff.; repr. in Somers's Tracts, I. 209.

9. *Vita et Martyrium R.P. Edmundi Campiani Presbyteri e Societate nominis Jesu*, printed in Bridgewater's "Concertatio," 1583 and 1594, and translated into Spanish, Italian, etc.

10. *A True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their Faith both at home and abroad; against a false, seyditionous and slaunderous Libel intituled: The Execution of Justice in England. Wherin is declared, how unjustlie the Protestants doe charge Catholiques with Treason; how untrulie they deny their persecution for Religion; and how deceitfullie they seeke to abuse strangers about the cause, greatnes and maner of their sufferinges, with divers other matters pertaining to this purpose.* s.l. et a., 8vo. title and preface 1-4, pp. 218, and at end Contents and Faults 2 ff.

In answer to Burleigh's "Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason," Dec. 17, 1583, which he had translated into Latin, Lond. 1584, 12mo.; Ingolstad, 1584, 12mo. Allen then translated his reply under the title—"De Justitia Britannica sive Anglica, quae contra Christi Martyres continenter exercetur," Ingolstadii, 1584, 8mo., A-C in eights, pp. 92, and at end adv. 1 f. It also appeared in the "Concertatio," 1588 and 1594, under the title—"Ad Persecutores Anglos pro Catholicis Domi forisque persecutionem sufferentibus; contra falsum, seditiosum, & contumeliosum Libellum, inscriptum, Justitia Britannica," as well as separately, s.l. et a., 8vo. It elicited a reply from Dr. Thos. Bilson—"Of the true difference between Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion," Oxford, 1585, 4to.; Lond. 1586, large 8vo.

11. *The Copie of a Letter written by M. Docter Allen, concerning the Yeelding up of the Citie of Daventrie, unto his Catholike Majestie,*

by Sir William Stanley, Knight; wherein is shewed both how lawfull, honorable, and necessarie that action was; and also that al others, especiallie those of the English Nation, that detainne anye townes, or other places in the lowe countreies from the King Catholike, are bound, upon paine of damnation, to do the like. Before which is also prefixed a gentleman's letter, that gave occasion of this discourse. Antverpe, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1587, 8vo.

The letter is dated Rome, April 23, 1587, and that of the gentleman is signed R. A., i.e., Roger Ashton, who was subsequently executed at Tyburn, June 23, 1591. It was translated into French, Paris, 1588, 8vo., and into Latin, Cracow, 1588, 8vo. The English edition was reprinted under the editorship of Thos. Heywood, Esq., F.S.A., *Chesham Soc.* XVI, 1851, 4to. Fr. Robt. Persons was charged by the appellant clergy with having a hand in this letter, and he does not deny the charge in his reply. "A Manifestation of the great Folly and bad spirit of certayne in England, calling themselves Secular Priests," s.l., 1602. Allen's letter elicited "A briefe Discoverie of Doctor Allen's Seditious Drifts, contrived in a Pamphlet written by him concerning the yeelding up of the town of Devanter unto the King of Spain by Sir W. Stanley," by G. D., Lond., 1588, 4to.

12. *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present Warres made for the Execution of his Holiness Sentence, by the highe and mightie Kinge Catholicke of Spaine, by the Cardinal of Englande*, s.l., 1588, 8vo., pp. 60 inclus. of title.

It was printed at Antwerp, with the intention of distribution in England at the moment of the Spanish invasion, but that failing, almost all the copies were destroyed. A reprint with a preface by Eupater was published in 1842. The authenticity of the work was ascribed to Fr. Persons by the appellant priests, and Lingard (*Hist. of England*, 1849, vi, 706) remarks that the language and style are certainly not like those of Allen. The substance of the "Admonition" was compressed on a broadsheet of eighty-one lines for distribution, but the copies were also destroyed upon the failure of the Armada. The work was reprinted, apparently by one of the appellant clergy, under the title—"The Declaration of Sixtus Quintus his Bull; a new challenge made to N. D." (i.e. Fr. Persons). Lond., 1600, 4to., pp. 107.

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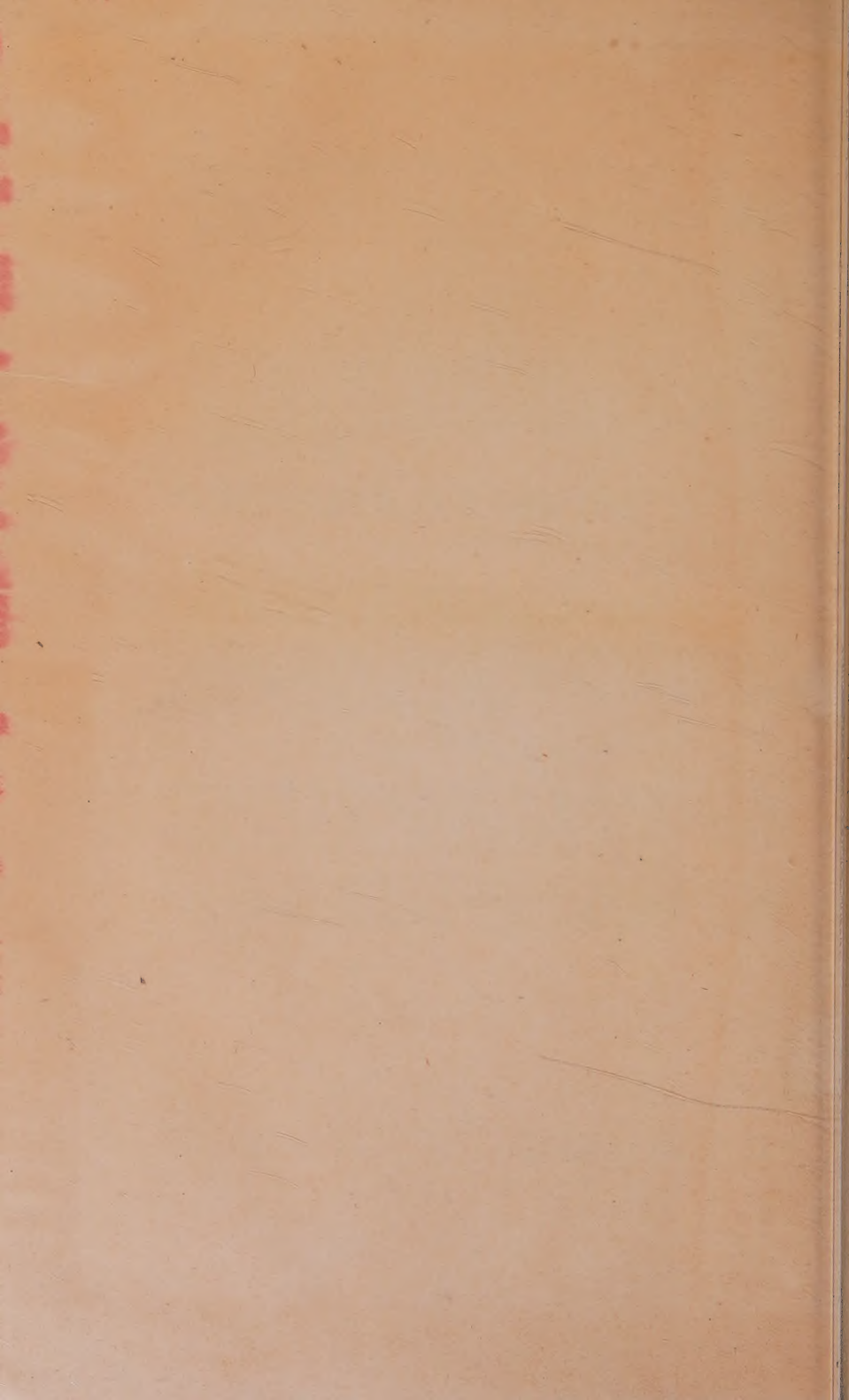
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